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A HUMAN SCIENCE INVESTIGATION OF THE PEDAGOGIC NATURE OF THE EXCHANGE EXPERIENCE

BY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Human Science Investigation of the Pedagogic Nature of an Exchange Experience" submitted by Don R. Northey in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

M. van Manen
Supervisor

Date: May 26, 1985

ABSTRACT

The intent of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of an exchange experience for young people. In this exploration the very situatedness of the study became dialectical in nature. In this respect, the understandings of those students not willing to participate in the exchange program were probed to gain an orientation towards, and an understanding of, that which they endeavoured to avoid: an experience which would draw them into the role of a traveller approaching the strange life-world of the other with the intent of coming to know their sameness and difference. By contrast, the non-participants wished to view the life-world of the other from a distance in the role of a tourist, comfortable in their own unquestioned life-world while viewing the life-world of the other as different from their own. Thus, the issue of sameness and difference arose as an early theme of this study.

Exploring both the lives of the non-participants and the individuals who experienced the exchange drew upon a number of human science orientations to the study of the life-world: biographic, ethnographic, and phenomenological. Through an integration of methodological approaches which employed questionnaires, interviews, participant observations, and participants' photography, this study made problematic the notion of an exchange and endeavoured to explore the thematic nature of the exchange experience itself. As the themes emerged from the gathering and portrayal of the participants' experiences, the insights of other investigators were brought to bear to deepen the analysis of the exchange experience such as Blum's

notion of the traveller, Buber's discussion of I-It and I-You relations, Levenas's discussion of the other, and Schutz's social phenomenological notion of the stranger.

This approach allowed the meaning of the exchange experience to evolve from the living of the experience itself without a priori categories determining the outcome. In this process the participants' descriptions of the exchange adventure revealed a reciprocal opening and sharing of their life-worlds. In the coming to know each other, risks were taken in opening one's life and entering the other's life, initially in the shoes of a stranger. As strangers the students embarked on a journey which explored the nature of their own being and the otherness of the other. This journey revealed and honoured the specific uniqueness of each participant while recognizing the sameness that they shared as human beings. The interaction of both these orientations allowed the growth of we-ness which flowered in varying degrees of intensity in their bonds of friendship.

Flowing from this study were a number of implications for improving the educational significance of the exchange experience and the quality of other pedagogic situations. These implications arose from a dwelling in the following questions: What fosters a coming to know the otherness of the other both in his or her uniqueness and sameness? What is the importance of a sense of we-ness or community in education? What is the nature of the teacher-student relationship which allows the student to deal with his or her becoming as a maturing, experiencing person? What is the nature of programs which create a learning environment that encourage a pluralistic approach to relationship and learning? An educational researcher, if he or she indeed enters the rόle of a traveller, searches in an open questioning manner to understand the re-search journey. In the coming home the dwelling itself is questioned. This questioning should encourage us to improve the quality of experiences in our educational dwelling.

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My dialogue with the exchange participants, especially Ann and Tom, made the exchange experience very concrete and real for me. Our shared dialogue enabled me to come to a deeper understanding of the exchange experience.

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Chapter 1

SITUATING THE STUDY

Introduction

> As the stream needs the woods, as the flowers need the breeze, as the deer needs the grasses, so do the people have need of each other and so can people find good in each other . . . . They [Indians] know that men of different cultures and races have much to offer one another. We offer our culture, we offer our heritage. We know it is different from yours. We are interested in your culture and your heritage; we want you to discover ours. (Cardinal, 1969, p. 79)

When the Canadian government officially announced its position on multiculturalism in 1971, one of its pronounced aims was "to promote creative encounters and interchange among Canadian cultural groups in the interest of Canadian unity" (Epp, 1981, p. 12). One of the federally funded programs which grew out of this program was the "Open House Canada Program". The goal of this program is for individuals "to broaden their knowledge of Canada and to enhance their appreciation and understanding of its diverse cultures and lifestyles" (Open House Canada Program Pamphlet, 1979, p. 1).

In attempting to achieve this goal, the Open House Canada Program has funded the transportation costs of approved exchange programs. Initially, both individual and group exchanges within Canada were funded for young people ages 14 to 22. Since 1979, only group exchanges have been sponsored. Priority has been given in descending order of preference to the following situations: Official bilingual exchanges (French - English), north-south exchanges, and exchanges with Native groups.

Various student exchange programs have expressed the pedagogic intents of their projects, but little research is presently available concerning the actual experience itself. This study endeavours to uncover how a young person lives an exchange experience, how a strange life-world is experienced, how a participant experiences a sense of familiarity or at homeness, and what changes develop in the student's life-world as the experience unfolds. Since the participants were to be involved in each others' life-worlds, it seemed essential to gain an understanding of their life-worlds prior to the exchange experience and to gain access to the lived world of the participants during the exchange program. Consequently, a problematic concern revolved around the search for relevant approaches which would enable an understanding of the subjective meanings of the participants.

The intent of this study is to uncover and to portray the experiential meanings of secondary school students involved in an exchange program. Through a situational study approach, we will endeavour to discover what the participants are experiencing, "how they interpret their experiences, and how they themselves structure the social world in which they live" (Psathas, 1973, p. 16). A major concern is to understand the inside, subjectively lived world of the participants. By pursuing this approach, we will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of the exchange experience for the young people involved. Thus, the essential question guiding this research is what is the nature of the exchange experience?

In this study we will search for insights into how a school exchange program is experienced by, and becomes part of the world of, the individual participant. No two social situations are identical, nor is the meaning of a social situation identical for two individuals. However, it is hoped that the readers will see some of the portrayed experiences as speaking to their own experiences or anticipated involvements. By becoming aware of the concrete, lived experiences of the students and the pedagogic nature of the experience, the intent is to further improve the educational quality and worth of future exchange programs.

Autobiographical Reflections

> Research is a personal venture which quite aside from its social benefits, is worth doing for its direct contribution to one's own self-realization. (Pinar, 1975, p. 176)

Behind each area of concern that is selected for investigation is the researcher who, from a myriad of possibilities, selects a realm of experience to delve into. Or as Barritt has indicated: "Every study begins from a judgment of the researcher" (Barritt, L., Beekman, T., Bleeker, H. & Mulderij, K., 1979, p. 3). Knowing the background of the investigator may assist the reader in understanding the study more fully (Center for Instructional Research, 1978). Hudson (1972) has noted that novelists, psychologists, and others involved in research with their fellow human beings draw on their experiences in order to understand social situations. To do otherwise would result in being "cut off from the sources of our intellectual vitality" (Hudson, p. 123). With this in mind, some personal scenarios will be sketched concerning my experiences in cross-cultural situations. It is from these experiences that my interest in this research endeavour grew.

My first remembrance, although at the time I did not recognize it as a cross-cultural experience, occurred in my father's optometry office in southern Alberta, where I journeyed daily for eye exercises. On one occasion a family entered garbed in somber black--a theme which held them together as a unity. The man, who possessed a large white beard spoke loudly with a peculiar accent, understandable but different. The wife entered the conversation as the dialogue continued. Later the wife left with a pair of glasses while my father was left with ten chickens.

On another occasion in the same office, a different family arrived. The man who was dressed in jeans, crumpled cowboy hat, and worn shirt spoke softly and tersely to my father concerning glasses for his wife. Dressed in a long dark dress, his wife clasped the hand of a child about my age. He clung to her dress as if peeping out of a cave, but did not venture out. There was little conversation so I returned to my exercises wondering who those strange people were.

During the middle of my fifth year in school, my family and I relocated to a small community in the Alberta oil fields. I dreaded entering the new school. As the car rolled nearer to the edifice, the uneasiness in the pit of my stomach intensified. My parents coaxed, preached, and ultimately wrenched me from the safety of the car. The portable classroom door opened cavernously. While my father spoke with the teacher, I heard not a word above the beating of my heart. The room seemed to shrink, nose-like. Eyes grilled me. A few giggles, nudges, and whispered conversations floated around the room. Like a caged, huddled animal I was on view.

Hajime! Arms flung against the mat initially produced a stinging sensation. Judo was my first active participation in another culture. Entering the dojo and bowing to Kano Sensei, I left my other world temporarily behind. Even then I remembered the motto: "Mutual prosperity, minimum effort, and maximum efficiency" as being different from my regular school orientation. At first these ways seemed strange. As a teenager I had to hold back initial smiles of embarrassment. In time, these approaches lost their strangeness, absorbed new meaning, and became partially automatic. When we moved from the city, I sensed some part of me had been left behind.

Authority was indelibly imprinted all over her from the firmly planted, black-laced shoes to the wire rimmed glasses which disappeared behind a stiff, white rim of cloth. Did she have ears? She proclaimed, "I'm Sister Mariam Agnes." Being a non-Catholic, I found the school both a novelty and a threat. Even after twenty-five years I can still hear reverberating in my mind: "Hail Mary full of grace. The Lord is with thee. . . ." In the school yard, I was surrounded by a sea of brown faces. I wondered what they thought of me. Would I be able to make new friends? The piercing bell returned me to a reality much the same as I had left in the city school. The books were the same. The teacher stood directing the activities--read, answer, and correct. I felt secure in the classroom, little had changed in that realm.

In this northern Albertan community an expression "being bushed" was utilized. A friend explained: "You'll know what it means when you go out to the city!" A year later I understood. Edmonton teemed with cars tearing endlessly and noisily to where? On the other hand, each car in Fort Vermilion had a personality as you identified the owner and car as one. I also felt uncomfortable with the wall of white faces--no names, no identities. The running water and the televison in the hotel suite were exciting, but I craved to return home.

One summer I was a bus passenger escort for a four year old Indian boy who was returning home after staying a year in a hospital. During the arduous jolting bus ride, John talked very little but I sensed a growing closeness that was revealed in periodic smiles. As new passengers sauntered down the aisle, John would draw nearer to me. The journey ended at the town hospital where John was to wait before flying home. A starched nurse marched down the sterile, green hallway. With fear in his eyes, John recoiled at her grasping hand and ran to me crying. A hollowness spread in my stomach.

During two years of travelling and working in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, I encountered many different cultures and stayed with a number of different families. In northern Borneo my hosts were a Dayak family who lived in a longhouse. The village members, with the exception of my new friend, Andrew, spoke no English. With Andrew I visited other homes, participated in ceremonies, and engaged in their daily activities. In order to share in the activities, I reacted more slowly than others using Andrew and other community members as models as I had done with my parents when I was younger. One afternoon, one of Andrew's school friends walked over from another village. During our conversation, his friend queried: "What do you do all day? It must be boring for you." Both Andrew and I glanced at each other with a look that said this thought had not occurred to us. Andrew indicated that I just did what his family did.

Space seemed so different then. My tatami mat room in Japan was such that I could only lay in one direction with my feet just inches from the wall while I was unable to lay stretched out in the other direction. The first nights seemed oppressively cloistered, but in a short while the room grew to have a womb-like coziness. Six months later I returned to Canada. On re-entry, Canada seemed like a Disneyland, a make-believe world. The average house appeared enormous with separate rooms just for sleeping!

Following my return to Canada, I again resided and taught in a number of Indian communities. Prior to one new school term, I was riding my horse in the community when I met a group of young children playing. During the ensuing conversation, I mentioned that I was the new principal. Wide eyed, one boy exclaimed: "You can't be the principal and ride a horse too!" While in this community, I participated in various social and religious ceremonies such as the sweatlodge, sundance, and wakes. As time progressed, less explanation was provided. It was assumed that I knew what to expect and how to react.

During my teaching career, I have co-ordinated a number of exchange programs with the majority involving Indian and non-Indian students. One particular episode is indelibly imprinted on my mind.

A group of Vancouver students ran along beside the train waving as we departed. Our group rather dejectedly waved back. One fellow with tears forming in his eyes vocalized rhetorically: "Why do we have to leave? It was so nice and comfortable here."

Many of my experiences outlined here and others in my life have grown out of participation in cultures other than the one into which I was born. These experiences have affected time spent in travelling, career choices, job locations, extracurricular activities, and other aspects of my life. My orientation to teaching and my philosophy of life in general have been influenced by these experiences.

During my undergraduate and graduate experiences, I have struggled with the relationship between society and the individual. To what extent are an individual's actions determined by society or by individual choice? My studies in sociology emphasized the determining influence of culture and social organizations on the life and decision-making process of the individual. My education instructors often vocalized the need to look at and relate to the student as an individual as represented in the slogan: "Start with each student where he or she is." However, in the actual delivery of my undergraduate education courses, I often did not feel related to as an individual. Through grappling with this relationship between society and the individual, I became more intensely aware of the importance that an individual's life-world and biographic standpoint play in determining for that individual what is relevant and potentially meaningful.

In my teaching experiences, I sought to know and to become part of the life-world of the individuals I worked with. As part of this search, I investigated different teaching approaches which would create enthusiasm for meaningful learning. Growing out of my travelling experiences was an additional interest and concern in widening and deepening my own cultural awareness and understanding and that of my students. I grappled with the question: What situations foster a movement from a sense of strangeness to one of comfort and familiarity? From my experiences I have become aware of cultural differences, but have also grown appreciative of the sense of oneness which underlies our commmon humanity. Each individual is equally human and should be accepted for who he/she is, a fellow human being with a variety of potentialities and possibilities. This orientation has encouraged me to search for learning approaches and situations which would involve students in an empathetic pursuit for mutual understanding with other individuals and groups of people. This goal led to an exploration and implementation of exchange programs during my teaching career. Subsequently, this dissertation has provided an opportunity for an in-depth search into the lived experience of exchange participants.

My experiences and philosophy have fostered a sense of hope that the quality of educational experiences can be improved. This concept of hope is symbolically represented by a picture which was presented to Maria Campbell (1973). Depicted in this picture was a forest burned to a pitch blackness. The focal point was the remains of a burned-out tree stump. Sprouting out of the tree's roots were fresh green shoots. These shoots represent hope.

The decision to investigate the experiential meaning of a cross-cultural exchange program has thus grown out of, and been nurtured by, my life experiences. My own involvement had provided one orientation. There was a need to explore other perspectives in order to develop a deeper understanding of the exchange experience.

Chapter 11

RESEARCH RELEVANT TO STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Related Studies

> Student exchanges breed an immeasurable respect for the contributions of all cultures in a way that cannot be achieved solely in the traditional classroom. (Gaddy, 1977, p. 7)

Proponents of exchange programs express optimism concerning the advantages offered by an exchange experience. However, the use of traditional quantitative research approaches have generally not indicated gains relative to other approaches in the area of specific knowledge. Yet, exchange participants have insisted "that they have learned a great deal from them and have found the insider experience extremely valuable" (Mestenhauser, 1977, p. 16).

One area of research which is of relevance to an investigation of exchange programs is that of contact between cultural groups. Just as providing knowledge "of" another culture does not ensure mutual understanding and tolerance, neither does the existence of physical face-to-face contact. Reich (1973) attempted to test the hypothesis that contact leads to understanding and in turn acceptance. His subjects were grade eleven students in schools having a high density and students in schools having a low density of new Canadians. The results of his questionnaire indicated that new Canadians were found to be more tolerant of diversity than other Canadians while new Canadians in high density schools were more tolerant of others than new Canadians in low density schools. This same relationship did not hold for other Canadians. Reich's study did not deal with the actual experiences of the students, the quality of the contact, or the pursuit of the students' viewpoints in depth. It did, however, provide a basis for questioning the assumption that contact leads automatically to improved relationships. In this light, Adair (1977) postulates that the quality of the first contact is highly influential and transferable to future attitudes and contacts. At the same time, knowledge by itself does not assure that positive relationships develop (Intergroup Relations Curriculum, 1969). What then leads to a relationship in which the individuals come to feel at home with each other? What is it that makes it possible for individuals to become friends?

In his studies of interethnic group relationships, Amir (1969) concluded that contact is most successful where members of equal status groups interact in situations requiring co-operative interdependent activities. If the political climate is favourable and the forms of control are not tension laden, then the contact is potentially more effective. These aspects increase the potential for interpersonal intimacy which purportedly leads to increased understanding. Kehoe (1979) suggests that contact is more positive when people "meet on personal terms, on a common task with shared interests and tastes that run across ethnic lines" (p. 33). If the contexual situation is viewed in a rewarding manner by participants, then this will reflect upon their other attitudes.

When studying the growth of authentic understanding of the Peace

Corp volunteers in the Philippines, Hanvey (1976) concluded that there must be a "readiness to respect and accept and a capacity to participate" (pp. 5, 6). Involvement was considered an important basis for change. Through this growth in emic understanding and sense of worth of both the people and their ways, the participant comes to feel with the others as they do. In this process the individual must be adaptable and flexible. These are qualities according to Hanvey which the young possess.

From his studies Hanvey (1976, p. 9) developed a typology of cross-cultural awareness. This is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1

Hanvey's Typology of Cross-Cultural Awareness

Level	Information	Mode	Interpretation
I.	awareness of superficial or very visible cultural traits; stereotypes	tourism, textbooks, National Geographic	unbelievable, i.e. exotic bizarre
II.	awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own	culture conflict situations	unbelievable, i.e. frustrating irrational
III.	awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own	intellectual analysis	believable, cognitively
IV.	awareness of how another culture feels from the standpoint of the insider	cultural immersion: living culture	believable because of subjective familiarity

Level I is characteristic of social studies programs which illustrate children in their traditional costumes eating "weird" foods. The emphasis is on how different this group of people is from us. The basic humanness shared by the groups is not contemplated. Level II knowledge grows out of either direct experience, or second-hand experience, in which conflict develops over perceived cultural differences. For example, according to an employer a Native person may have arrived "late" for an appointment. The employer may become very agitated with the situation.

At both levels I and II the actor's characteristics are treated as unbelievable and strange. Hanvey (1976) elaborates: "If we are to admit to the humanness of those others, then the strangeness of their ways must become less strange. Must in fact become believeable" (p. 7). This believability is present at both levels III and IV. However, level III is arrived at through cognitive, objective analysis while level IV is reached through subjective understanding of the insider's perspective in an experiential setting. Level IV entails not only a knowledge "of", but an experience "with". Harold Cardinal discusses the need to change misconceptions at this level when he urged: "I emphasize the need for acceptance on an individual or personal basis" (1968, p. 10).

Cross-cultural experiences have the potential to jolt participants into looking with freshness at their own typifications and culture which can lead to a "recognition of the way in which they have constituted their own life-world" (Greene, 1973, p. 132).

Rhinesmith (1967) discussed reactions to involvement in strange cultural settings as follows: "Flight" in which the other culture is blamed for confusion and one joins fellow group members, "dependency" whereby one denies one's own culture and takes on the culture of the contact group, "fight" in which one attempts to change the culture confronted so it becomes like one's own, and "adaption" in which one develops interpersonal communication skills and is open to change. Adaption is an experiential process involving learning about one's self most favourably conducted in an atmosphere of trust where growing friendship allows one to risk exposing one's true feelings. It is a striving to understand "concerns which are usually shared by human beings regardless of cultural conditioning (but which are difficult if not impossible to reach until we are aware of the extent to which we are imprisoned by our own culture)" (Rhinesmith, p. 4). This process of understanding is one of unfreezing ethnocentric biases, readjusting attitudes and perceptions, and a refreezing of new ideas.

The limited research that has been conducted in the area of exchange programs has primarily dealt with international programs involving university or other post-secondary students (Cleveland, 1960; Mestenhauser, 1977; Reed, 1978). In a review of exchange programs, Hayden (1981) points out that although there exists a lengthy history of educational travel and study "very little is systematically known about the immediate let alone longer-term educational and personal impact of international exchange experiences" (p. 2).

Research at the elementary and secondary level is extremely limited. Weeks (1977), in an unpublished dissertation, quantitatively tested secondary students participating in cross-cultural exchange programs to determine whether their academic achievement in social studies had improved, whether their interest and knowledge in current affairs had increased, and whether their attitudes had changed. By comparsion to the control group, the only significant difference found was that the participants who had the most contact with their host group developed increased positive feelings for the other cultural groups. Weeks' research approach neither portrayed what the participants were experiencing during this contact, nor what they felt they gained by being involved in the exchange situation. Rather, this research approach employed questionnaire responses to measure primarily predetermined knowledge objectives. A full description of the quality of the experience was lacking.

In response to a letter I sent to the Open House Canada Program, I was informed that they had "not done any systematic studies of exchange programs and attitude changes" (July 21, 1980). Since that date a questionnaire approach has been employed to evaluate this program (Peat, Marwick & Partners, 1984). One section of this questionnaire endeavoured to measure the participants' increase in knowledge of Canada. These questions requested factual knowledge as in the following item:

> Canada's land mass is approximately
> a. 3,500,000 square kilometers (1,370,000 square miles)
> b. 7,420,000 square kilometers (2,900,000 square miles)
> c. 20,480,000 square kilometers (8,000,000 square miles)
> d. 9,110,000 square kilometers (3,560,000 square miles)
> (p. 4)

Attitudes were also measured in a format which required forced generalizations such as agreement or disagreement with the statement:

"Southerners are patriotic" (p. 9). No opportunity was provided in this process for participants to express their experiences in their own words. Likewise, the researchers did not have any direct contact with the participants or the programs in action. The results of this research study are not yet available.

When studying this type of research, I was reminded of Grant's warning that the multicultural field "cannot afford traditional technician experts in the divisive sociobehavioral disciplines who tend to isolate and to denegate the main character, the person" (1977, p. 89). For example, Berryman (1974) warns us that similarities between individuals are seldom sought in cross-cultural research because this would not provide a basis for a rejection of null hypotheses.

Another limited source of information on exchange programs has been self-reported anecdotal articles by individuals or organizations in various educational journals or general interest newspapers. For example, Berryman (1974) concluded after his involvement as an organizer in several exchange programs:

> I cannot think of any experience offered by public schools that provides more potential for relevant learning than the student exchange project; because the success of it depends on how well each treats others. Life is the curriculum, and the child's experiences are real. A textbook or discussion group could not begin to develop the "inside" of the child to the same extent. (p. 26)

Similarly, a Weyburn, Saskatchewan teacher reported on an exchange between his grade nine class and their counterparts in Inuvik, Northwest Territories by stating: "Any feedback that the Weyburn teachers have received from the students has been positive"

(Johnston, 1975, p. 10).

These and similar accounts are often provided by the co-ordinators of the particular projects. Insights are indicated but due to their usual brevity, mimimal descriptive or analytical material is provided. Thus, the issue of selecting appropriate methodological approaches for an investigation of the exchange experience is problematic. Further research is needed to order to reveal the pedagogic nature of an exchange experience.

Pedagogic Aspects of Student Exchange Programs

Proponents of exchange programs indicate that this type of educational experience responds to some of the criticism that has been levelled against education. Schools have been accused of isolating themselves from the surrounding communities as they have become increasingly specialized. Grambs (1968) points out that "modern societies have never fully envisioned the educational uses of experiences and as a result our schools remain exclusively verbal in their emphasis and incomplete in their accomplishments" (p. 27). Another commentator on the schools, Illich (1976), is more radical in his criticism. He considers the education system as irrelevant to the needs of the child.

According to these authors, students are contained in the classroom separate from the rest of society. In a contradictory manner, schools then propose that the child is being prepared to join society at a later date. According to Greene (1973), students are individuals who "want to have real work to do, who want revelation, adventure--who want to learn what the school is designed to prevent them from learning, who need to go up on mountains, dream and invent their names" (pp. 84, 85). Under the present education system, Illich (1976) contends learning "about" the world is portrayed as more valuable than learning "from" the world. Gradually schools have created physical and psychological walls around the learner whereby learning and growth are considered to occur only in the framework of the school itself. In this light Newman and Oliver (1967) state: "By denying the students basic responsibility and freedom, public schooling prevents development of a sense of competency in making personal decisions" (p. 225). In this area of decision making and other aspects of the operation of the school, Illich indicates that a "hidden curriculum" acts in opposition to many of the professed goals of education such as the development of responsible democratic citizens.

Whereas Illich and other radical commentators on education suggest that the schools be abolished, other individuals such as Berryman (1974) and Johnston (1975), who are advocates of exchange programs, suggest that the doors of the schools be opened so that the students can journey out into their communities. Support for this position was found by Dixon (1978) in a survey of scholars and administrators. Both groups ranked direct experience and community study highly as desired learning approaches. This is not to say that the direct experience approach characterizes the present education system. For example, those involved in the development of the Intergroup Relations Curriculum (1969) depict the educational process as predominantly:

> teachers lecturing or exhorting students to be "good citizens", and this by little or no participation by students in the process; by avoiding emotions or sensitive confrontations among students and between students and teachers in the classroom; and often by the absence of significant links between the ideals of democratic society and the real life situations of many students. (p. 10)

This same project recommends that the community itself be utilized as a classroom.

In addition to viewing the community as a setting for educational learning, the concept of community appears relevant to understanding the exchange experience in several other respects. Traditionally, the school community has been organized so that learning becomes teacher centered with knowledge being passed down to the students. Freire (1974) has coined the word "banking" to describe this process. From the banking perspective the student is conceptualized as a passive object or spectator, a receptacle open to receiving knowledge from the teacher, in the world but not with the world. The authoritarian role of the teacher based on a superior-subordinant relationship complies with the banking concept, but not with a dialogical relationship. In the dialogical relationship, an egalitarian model is sponsored in which the participants share joint responsibility in the learning process. By mutually sharing, contributing, and co-operating, the participants are encouraged to grow in their understanding of the world in which they are an integral part. Each individual's historicity and being-in-becoming is recognized. Each individual is viewed as a creator capable of transforming his or her world and also a being transformed by the world. As Freire (1974) stresses: "To alienate men from their own decision making is to change them into objects" (p. 73). This process of objectification characterizes much of our education system Freire contends. To counteract this process, proponents of exchange programs suggest that participant involvement in the community allows students to make real life decisions, to become creators.

Community also involves the notion of sharing. However, the present growth of large bureaucratic schools with subject specialized roles, rigid timetables, hierarchical decision making, and high teacher-pupil ratios has often limited the opportunity for teachers and students to share their life-worlds. Thus, the development of meaningful, understanding relationships and a sense of community have been curtailed. On the other hand, exchange participants report closer personal contact and opportunities for sharing their life-world with others. This raises the question: What makes it possible for one person to enter the life-world of another? In the sharing of life experiences what is the nature of the interpersonal relationships which develop?

Proponents of exchange programs envision this approach as one educational experience which can deal with such issues as relevancy, co-operation with the community, student involvement in the educational process, development of democratic responsibility, and fostering of understanding. Most assuredly, not all educators are in favour of exchange programs or other developments which take time "out of school". "The logistics of a field trip [exchange program] are often enough to make a teacher blanch; many school systems put so many barriers in the way of field trips that teachers are unable to use this extremely effective educational device" (Grambs, 1968, p. 35). It would appear the same could be said of exchange programs.

Students themselves have expressed interest in learning outside of the confines of the school. For example, Rothe (1979) asked students what activities they would include in a social studies program to which their response was unanimously in favour of field trips. Students explained that this approach assisted them in remembering the content and that "seeing" had more meaning. An exploration of the interpretation of the word "seeing" would provide a much deeper understanding of the meaning of this experience.

An investigation of the available research on exchange programs has revealed a lack of in-depth probing into the lived experiences of exchange participants. By exploring the nature of the individualistic and cultural aspects of the experience itself, we will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the pedagogic nature of the exchange experience.

Chapter 111

PLURALISM AND EDUCATION: HONOURING UNIQUENESS AND COMMON BONDS

Pluralism and Multicultural Education

> It sometimes seems to Indians that Canada shows more interest in preserving its rare whooping cranes than its Indians. And Canada, the Indian notes, does not ask its cranes to become Canada geese. (Cardinal, 1969, p. 2)

As an exchange experience is potentially a cross-cultural experience, it is worthwhile to explore the relationship between pluralism and multicultural education. Canada's official statement on multiculturalism was announced by Prime Minister Trudeau partly in response to the suggestions of the Royal Commision on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. He stated in part:

> Every culture has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. To say we have two official languages is not to say we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more "offical" than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians. (Hansard, October 8, 1971)

Underlying this policy of multiculturalism and that of exchange programs as well is the philosophy of pluralism. If in practice the government's multicultural policy is interpreted merely as support for certain festive occasions of dancing and food tasting, or the establishment of cultural museums, then thoughtful consideration has not been given to the underlying philosophy of pluralism. This philosophy maintains that there is more than one way to represent our humanness; to be different is not to be inferior. It is the respect and concern for human dignity, worth, and integrity that provides a unifying force in this acceptance of diversity. "Heterogeneity is considered desirable and harmony is possible within diversity" (Werner, Connors, Aoki, & Dohlie, 1974, p. 12). The National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism in the United States defines cultural pluralism as "a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behaviour, colour and in many cases with significantly different languages" (Stent, 1973, p. 14). In order to facilitate the implementation of such a philosophy, individuals need to be aware of, and secure in, their own identities. A willingness to offer others the same respect and rights one wishes to enjoy oneself is a necessary requirement for pluralism. The goal is not assimilation, but the development of reciprocal interrelationships such that individuals can be secure in their right to make decisions with regards to their future so long as these decisions do not threaten the rights of others. Pluralism is based on each person's equal right to explore his or her humanness and to strive for mutual acceptance and understanding.

The philosophy of pluralism is not based on deep-seated ethnocentrism: "The view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (Le Vene, 1972, p. 8). On the contrary, pluralism is founded on a belief in the intrinsic worth of all individuals as fellow human beings. This does not mean that all activities of human beings are condoned or tolerated. If the endeavour contravenes the idea of human dignity, then the act is not tolerated.

Cultural pluralism is the philosophical base for a multicultural education approach. In part, it is an ongoing search which responds to the ontological questions: Where am I coming from? Who am I? Where am I going? This search is coupled with a willingness to share the experiences gained in this pursuit with others. Multicultural education is not a smorgasbord of oddities spread before the students. "If multicultural education meant nothing but a cafeteria presentation of specific information on separate sub-groups or earthlings it would add little to the idea of all in one and one in all in the important sense of the interrelatedness of human fate" (Grant, 1977, p. 89). Multicultural education does not promote an isolationist program, but strives for mutual understanding. There "is a need for schools to reflect and perpetuate cultural diversity as well as teach a commitment to, and respect for values such as justice, equality and human dignity" (Hoopes, Pedersem, & Renauk, 1978, p. 26). This search for understanding is not for the purpose of control, but in order that we can get further in touch with that which we have in common, our humanness--its roots, development, and potential. Gaining access to, and developing an understanding of, learning situations which would promote this sense of oneness rather than a meeting of opposites is vital for multiculturalism to have an impact.

Multicultural education recognizes the contextual situatedness of each individual within his or her cultural background. "In this sense the individual is not abstracted from a living context and placed upon the gridwork of standards of norms" (Grant, 1977, p. 8). In some areas of educational practice, differences from the "cultural norm" are viewed negatively. Students are interpreted as being "culturally deprived", that is, not having the same culture as the dominant group. This orientation is reflected in the development of a number of compensatory education programs. Kleinfield (1975) at the same time warns us that the more current culturally different theories may become a substitution for cultural deprived theories as an excuse for teaching failures. "Perhaps the fields of anthropology and education need a new analytic paradigm, a paradigm that generates fresh problems, different methods and useful solutions to the educational problems of minority children" (Klienfield, p. 55). Likewise, it would appear from our earlier look at research on exchange programs that questions from a different paradigm are required to gain a deeper understanding of the exchange experience. The philosophy of pluralism encourages us to ask: What is the nature of the meeting of the participants? How do the participants come to know each other? How do participants view the culture of the other group members? To what extent are the other participants viewed as individuals with distinctive biographies or as representatives of a cultural group?

Multicultural Education And Social Studies Programs

Many of the attempts at the implementation of a multicultural education approach have been in the social studies area. For example, the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Interim Guide indicated a concern for promoting pluralism as illustrated in the following statement: "An appreciation of and tolerance for, the diversity of world views and lifestyles that characterize human society is a critical objective of the Alberta social studies curriculum" (p. 10). This emphasis is most evident in the grade seven unit: "Canada: A Multicultural Society" where one of the expressed value objectives is to develop "an empathy for the attitudes and values of Canadians of varying backgrounds, beliefs and lifestyles" (p. 44). The potential for pursuing multicultural concerns exists in many of the other units of this social studies program as well.

Werner and Wilson (1979) have indicated that many of our social studies programs operate from an objective viewpoint based on a detached theoretical framework. In this approach a priori categories are applied to a given situation. The curricular approach is to present information about the geography and way of life of a culture. The unwarranted assumption is made that "providing information leads to understanding and positive attitudes" (Kehoe, 1979, p. 10). Applying Habermas's model to multicultural studies, Aoki (1978b) describes this outsider viewpoint as aimed at gaining knowledge "of" a group of people by studying "about" them. Thus, the members of the studied ethnic group become objects like those exhibited in a museum display case. On the other hand, exchange programs necessitate living in the home of another family. One question that arises is what gives rise to a participant viewing the other as an object or as another subject?

The subjective, or insider's viewpoint, which focusses on situational knowledge involving "descriptions which are in accord with the purposes, feelings, motives, interests, aspirations and experiences of the observed group in their particular context" (Werner & Wilson, 1979, p. 86) is not stressed in most social studies programs. A multiple interpretational approach to multicultural studies perceives a variety of interpretations of a given social event as possibly based on the perspective of the subject-in-the-world as he/she is involved in the interpretation process (Aoki, 1978a). This approach encourages us to gain access to the situational aspects and to study various interpretations of the exchange experience.

A third approach to multicultural studies is based on the critical reflective orientation. As participants are discerned as constructors of their own reality, they are also viewed as capable of uncovering and unmasking their "own and other's perspectives and predilections that not only permit one to hold a view but also simultaneously constrain one to the view held" (Aoki, 1978b, p. 4). This process of critical self-reflection applied to the area of multicultural education holds possibilities for personal and group liberation. However, in many of the ethnic studies programs, the individual's own personal ethnicity and own perspective are often not dealt with explicitly, nor are approaches considered and implemented in learning situations which would encourage this development. This approach raises the question: When individuals from different ethnic backgrounds meet in an exchange experience, in what ways are they cognizant of the other's ethnicity and their own? Further, how does the interaction change the individual's perception of him or herself?

After studying official curriculum documents, a project entitled: Whose Culture? Whose Heritage? Ethnicity Within Canadian Social Studies Curricula (Werner et al., 1974) arrived at some findings relevant to multicultural education. In these documents minority groups were portrayed as playing a minor role in Canada's development with contributions noted "to" the dominant culture. Minorities were viewed from the monocultural dominant group's orientation which examined "the problems minorities encountered as they fit into the dominant cultural frame of reference" (Werner et al., 1974, p. 11). The underlying assumption does not appear to be respect and appreciation for diversity. On the contrary, minorities are envisioned as marginal peoples, one step away from joining the cauldron. "Minority groups such as Hutterites, Doukhobor, Metis, and Native Indians are often stereotyped and romanticized once they have been culturally isolated and made visible on the basis of cultural objects" (Werner et al., 1974, p. 6). The mosaic metaphor may be appropriate, however, it is the distance between the parts and the preponderant image of the dominant culture which emerges. Consequently, cultural distance is stressed by considering minority groups as apart from the flow of Canadian life. Involvement in the exchange program in this study initially required students to decide if they were willing to risk interpersonal contact with members of another ethnic group. On what basis would they make their decisions?

The Werner et al. (1974) report also discusses predominant approaches to ethnic studies. The museum approach in which the ethnic group's culture is characterized as a series of highly visible artifacts is popular in the elementary grades. The heritage approach because of its emphasis on the dominant culture and what it has done "for" others can become ethnocentric and paternalistic. The shift to the heritage approach commences in the upper elementary grades.

Another perspective, the interdisciplinary issues approach, invites the student to utilize the concepts of the disciplines in an attempt to resolve specific issues. "The student is encouraged to consider alternative action and possible consequences, to make decisions, and to take a stand on multicultural issues" (Werner et al., 1974, p. 30). Caution has to be exercised so that the minority group is not considered simply as a "problem" to be resolved.

At the secondary level, the conceptual frameworks of the social sciences and history are applied to multicultural situations so that a detached, objective viewpoint is stressed. This approach broadens the scope and the concepts available, however, "multicultural issues are thereby made emotionally safe. Personal ethnicity is neutralized in favour of theoretical considerations" (Werner et al., 1974, p. 29). Exchange programs make it possible for face-to-face relationships to develop. In this possible praxis situation, what role does culture play in the participants coming to know each other?

Looking at Native people specifically, we often find that they are "studied" in social studies classes from an objective, outsider stance with an emphasis on the museum approach. In Emma La Roque's book, Defeathering the Indian , she stresses that Indian culture, like other cultures, is not static. The cardboard feathered Indian squatting in a paper maché village is not now, if it ever was, representative of Indian life. La Roque (1975) explains that Native people have been "defined, categorized and mythologized by books, movies, missionaries, educators, anthropologists--and every other ologist" (p. 8).

The stress on historical Indian life more often than not pictured with a strong dominant culture ethnocentricism has led to a minimal understanding of the life of contemporary Indian people. In addition, "historical Indian life is compared or contrasted with contemporary non-Indian society, which often produces such a distorted image of Indian people that Indian children don't recognize themselves" (Grant, 1977, p. 137). This became very apparent to me when driving to a neighbouring reserve powwow with a group of Indian students. On arriving at the site, a number of these students shouted: "Look at the Indians!" Reflecting upon this situation in relationship to this study, I wondered about what typifications or views non-Native students would have of Native people. Emma La Roque's (1975) closing thoughts in her book point out the need to see others as cultural beings yet more importantly as individuals in their own right:

> Where does one draw the line between judging a person as an individual and as a cultural entity? To be sure, it is not always easy, for each individual is a product of his environmemt. Yet it seems to me that there comes a time when we must recognize each person as an individual rather than a carbon copy of what we suppose to be his culture. For within one's cultual context, one varies from others of his culture in his expressions, creativity and feelings. Personally, I think people are like snowflakes; they all differ from one another. (p. 74)

This chapter has outlined briefly the philosophy of pluralism and its relationship to multicultural education. This investigation gives rise to the following question: Are there aspects of the exchange experience which foster a cultural and/or individual awareness such that there is a sense of oneness of our humaness and a recognition of our uniqueness as well? As the philosophy of pluralism is based on the value of multiple perspectives, we are encouraged to explore a variety of methodological approaches in order to more fully understand the exchange experience.

Chapter IV

RESEARCH ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

> All education practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies--sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly--an interpretation of man and the world. (Freire, 1974, pp. 205, 206)

Just as there is an interplay between an individual's biography and interpretive framework, so is a researcher's orientation to investigation related to his or her frame of reference. Each researcher "must select, classify, and define 'data' upon which he makes his judgments. The data generated are products of the assumptions, beliefs, interests, and approaches he holds implicitly or explicitly" (Werner, 1978, p. 1). In this study the major intent was to uncover and portray the experiential meanings of participants involved in an exchange program. By so doing, it was hoped that the essential nature of the exchange experience would be revealed and be made available for further analysis.

As the term "experience" was employed throughout this study, a brief examination of this term will now be made. According to Webster, the word "experience" (from the Latin word experiente--act of trying) denotes "something personally encountered, undergone or lived through." Thus, there is a subject involved in an ongoing activity. The word "something" in the definition indicates the aspect of intentionality. As well, Webster's Dictionary defines experience as "the knowledge, skill or practice derived from direct observation of, or participation in, events." In this sense something is gained from the experience. This gain is attributed to a direct experience rather than a vicarious one. The individual, unique aspect of an experience is emphasized in the phrase "personal experience". Another expression, "lived experience", denotes a pre-reflective experience in a phenomenological sense. An experience can involve natural or cultural objects, however, it is the participant's involvement with other human beings that is the focus of this study.

From the emphasis in this study on participant's meanings of their experience and the phrasing of the intent of this research, it can be seen that the thrust of this study does not lie within the empirical analytic approach. There is no attempt to predict or to produce knowledge in the form of laws or generalizations so that future acts can be predicted with greater probability. The empirical analytic approach seeks knowledge that is nomological, law-like, which "gives man explanatory power, understanding within this orientation is equivalent to giving cause and effect, functional or hypothetical-deductive statements" (Aoki, 1978b, p. 10).

At the begining of this study when I investigated the reasons why some students decided not to participate in the exchange program, the empirical approach was, however, utilized. In this approach students were requested to rank a list of prearranged factors (Appendix A). This research stance fostered an objective perspective, a role played by a detached observer, or outsider. Through this approach an initial entry point was provided into the lives of the students, but this approach did not permit sufficient depth of understanding of the situation from the students' perspective. Rather than testing an hypothesis as in the empirical approach exemplified in the initial ranking approach, this study primarily sought to discover what the issue was rather than being "obliged to pursue inquiry into a predetermined problem that only exists in the mind of the investigator" (Roberts, 1976, p. 25).

Situational Interpretive Approach

> When you go to our children try to become a friendly tree that they will want to sit near. Enjoy them. Forget yourself. If we would all only forget ourselves a bit more, then our children would feel free to be a bit more themselves. Sometimes we get too close to our children; we scare them with--with ourselves. They can't become themselves. It is them that we should try to know. (Pueblo Indian lady cited in Coles, 1977, p. 62)

Through the perspective of the situational interpretive approach to research, the exchange students were viewed as active participants searching for, interpreting, and creating meaning. As Smith (1980) has noted: "What comes to be passed on as objective knowledge always begins as subjective apprehension" (p. 16). Thus, the creation of meaning is not conducted in a vacuum, but based on experiences in various contextual situations. To participate means to conceive of oneself in-the-world.

Through a process of dialogue with the participants, I attempted to uncover and understand the participants' interpretive constructs. In this search for intersubjective understanding, my role was not that of an expert importing knowledge and forcing the situation to fit this knowledge. Rather, I began by endeavouring to understand the participants' meanings. First order constructs were of prime concern. The knowledge pursued was of "deep structures of meaning, the way in which man meaningfully experiences and cognitively appropriates the social world" (Aoki, 1978, p. 12). Thus, various questions arose during the research itself such as: What typifications did the participants hold? How did the participants come to feel at home with each other? How did they perceive their interpersonal relationships?

As Barritt et al. (1979) have indicated, educational research often emphasizes data collection and analysis as governed by a structural and predetermined approach rather than permitting issues to evolve from the involvement. By stating the research intent as an open-ended question, fewer limits are placed on the search itself. This study endeavoured to increase the understanding of the experience not to validate a priori, theoretical statements.

Participants' experiences are best understood by conducting research in a naturalistic setting since the setting or situation affects the meaning that evolves (Center for Instructional Research, 1978). This approach is contrary to most educational research in which variables are defined, manipulated, and controlled in order to test the effects on the group members. By contrast, this study emphasized a holistic and experiential approach. It was not an external hypothesis that determined the direction of the study but what was happening within the boundaries of the situation itself. There was an initial search for an understanding of a particular case in the context of its environment which is in many ways unique from other situations.

This process entailed a search for understanding or verstehen, not a quest for nomological knowledge. Verstehen focusses on that which has subjective meaning. When something is understood, it is meaningful--full of meaning. Verstehen is experientially cognizant of the social world. As MacDonald (1980) has noted: "What we know is as much or more who we humans are as it is what is there" (p. 4).

When discussing going beyond surface curriculum, Basses (1976) encouraged researchers "to take up more direct lines of inquiry into education as it is practised and experienced by teachers and children" (p. 12). The study of meaningful social actions is based on getting in touch with the actor's meanings involved in these social situations (Douglas, 1978). Curriculum builders cannot simply outline activities for children; they must understand what the children are experiencing while participating in the activity (Pinar, 1975).

Approaches to a Study of the Life-World

As I was utilizing the situational interpretive approach to research, I felt it was necessary to look at approaches to a study of the life-world of research participants. Husserl (1970) is attributed with the initial use of the term "life-world" (Lebenswelt) by which he meant "the world of which we are all conscious in as the world of us all" (p. 383). The concept of life-world can be viewed from a number of different perspectives. Each perspective asks some different questions and in turn reveals different layers of meaning. Each approach however, endeavours to view everyday social interaction in order to examine the underlying structures. By studying the life-worlds of the students in the exchange program from the various perspectives to be outlined in this section, an ever deepening understanding of the exchange experience can be gained and in turn portrayed.

Attitudes of the Researcher: Gaining Access to Participants' Meanings

In a situational study certain attitudes on the part of a researcher assist in gaining access to the participants' life-worlds and meanings. Kluckholn (1961) postulates that individuals are more willing to assist you if they sense that you want to be like them rather than if they surmise that you are attempting to discover why they are different. In addition, the qualitative research approach is dependent upon the researcher's ability to operate as a sensitive research instrument "by transcending his own perspective and becoming acquainted with the perspective of those he is studying" (Wilson, T., 1977, p. 261). To do so, the researcher must be aware of his/her own perspective. Beyond the impact of the researcher's knowledge, perspective, interests, and competencies is the influence of his/her own personality which is often overlooked as a factor in research (Robinson, 1974). This latter factor is important as it is via an individual's personality that a researcher portrays and uses him or herself as a research instrument--"a human filter to screen an unfamiliar reality" (Khlief, 1974, p. 389).

Through interaction with the participants, the researcher needs to be appreciative of the knowledge and experiences of the participants and to be able to convince the participants of the value of their contributions. This is emphasized by Coles (1977) in his study, Children in Crisis , wherein he endeavours to uncover the children's meanings:

> The whole part of this work has been to put myself (body, mind and I pray but cannot at all be sure, my heart and soul) in a position with respect to a number of children that offers them a chance to indicate a certain amount about themselves to me and through me, to others. (1977, p. 57)

Basic to this approach is the attitude of empathy. Truzzi (1974) distinguishes two types of empathy. One he labels "adoptive empathy" in which one puts oneself in another person's shoes and attempts to act in the same manner as the other. The other type he classifies as "assimilative empathy" in which an individual is able to anticipate what a person will do and feel as well as the group members do. It is the capacity to move comfortably within the group. "To empathize is to see with the eyes of another, to hear with the ears of another, and to feel with the heart of another" (Katz, 1963, p. 1). It is more than an intellectual process as it additionally requires personal involvement and evocation of feeling. At the same time, empathy involves not merely liking a person, but a receptiveness and perceptiveness. Spradley (1979) says of his subjects: "I want to understand the meaning of your experiences . . . to explain things as you explain them" (p. 34). Being involved in educational settings means that the researcher is often neither teacher nor student. The researcher may be unable to act in the same manner as the other participants due to the authority associated with the adult role, to different cognitive and physical development, and to social roles associated with age (Fine, 1979). At the same time, the researcher may still be able to develop an empathetic relationship with participants.

Another appropriate attitude in this research approach is a willingness to be adaptive to the situation under study. Because of the nature of this situational study, that is, its unique interplay of intersubjective meanings, I had to be able to modify my approach so as to be receptive to the focus and direction of the participants. For example, I had intended to have the two interviewees maintain diaries dealing with their exchange experiences. When they expressed resistance, I decided to focus more on the interviews themselves. By comparison, the empirical "experimental" approach clearly outlines the project in advance. What is relevant is determined in relationship to the researcher's hypothesis. Relevancy in the situational interpretive approach is a matter of which the subjects are prime determinants. Consequently, approaches have to be selected which provide access to the participants' life-worlds and the experiences which grow out of the exchange program.

Biographic View of the Life-World

The focal point of the life-world for the biographer is the individual and his or her experiences. By weaving together the concrete images of individuals' accounts of their experiences, by utilizing various records, and by studying accounts of other individuals concerning the subject's life-world, the biographer attempts to interpret an individual's thoughts and actions in light of his or her past. Berk (1980) envisions the biographic approach as providing an account of the quality of an experience in a concrete and empirical manner. Each individual's life history is considered to be unique although part of a given historical period.

Grumet (1980) stresses that individuals' accounts of their life-worlds will never exactly coincide with the experiences themselves, as the individuals decide what events and feelings to include and to disregard in their account. Pinar (1980) holds that one's viewpoint in his or her life-world "is framed in part by where one sits on the mountainside. Change one's ontological 'spot', and one's vision of what is the world changes as well" (p. 167). Consequently, one individual will perceive their experiences differently from another. Thus, Pinar (1980) indicates that there is no "free-floating experience in general" but only "experience-in-the-particular" (p. 164).

It is to the latter that biographers turn their attention as they attempt to organize the reports of an individual's life history utilizing the literary device of the plot. In this process incidents are selected, arranged, and linked "with respect to an outline so as to render an intelligent account of how that outcome came to pass" (Berk, 1980, pp. 94, 95). In this process the relationships of earlier to later experiences are accounted for in retrospect. Based on the biographic approach, I interviewed two participants in depth in order to investigate the historical aspects of their life-world which affected their understanding of the exchange experience. These interviews were conducted prior to the exchange itself and following their participation in the exchange. This approach encourages the researcher to dis-cover rather than to assume the educational significance of the exchange experience in the life-world of a participant.

Ethnographic View of the Life-World

While the biographic approach gives us a personal historical perspective, the ethnographic approach provides a cultural perspective. Spradley and McCurdy (1972) highlight several characteristics of the ethnographic approach applicable to an investigation of the life-world: "The ethnographer seeks to describe a culture using the criteria that his informants employ as they observe, interpret and describe their own experiences during the course of life" (p. 18). As this statement illustrates, the life-world is viewed from a cultural perspective. The life-world is perceived as the world of shared interpretations and understandings of a group of people. The ethnographer gains information from an individual or informant, however, it is not the idiosyncratic aspect of the individual's life-world that is of concern. Rather, the informant is viewed as a means for gaining access to the cultural understandings of the group. Yet, as Geertz (1973) points out, this interpretation is not limited to the specifics of the setting: "Small facts speak to large issues, winks to epistomology, or sheep raids to revolution, because they are made to" (p. 23).

Ethnographers endeavour to portray the life-world of a group of people from the insider's point of view utilizing the members' terms, categories, and perceptions. The members of the culture are therefore considered the experts. Consequently, the members decide whether the ethnographer's descriptions of their life-worlds are valid or not. This means that ethnographers do not go in with a priori hypotheses about the group's life-world. Instead, they strive to gain an understanding of the members' framework of interpretation in order to decribe the situation-as-experienced. In Geertz's words, the description "must be cast in terms of the interpretations to which persons of a particular denomination subject their experience, because that is what they profess to be descriptions of" (1973, p. 15). Geertz emphasizes the need for "thick description" of a particular social situation.

To gain this understanding Spradley and McCurdy (1972) point out that the ethnographer needs to conduct his or her research in a naturalistic setting. The participant observation approach is often used in this setting. The role of a participant observer is characterized as "more a state of mind, a framework for living in the field than it is a specific program of action" (Crane, 1974, pp. 63, 64). This approach necessitates an openness and a search for the insider's perspective. Rather than being detached and aloof, I strove to come to know the other participants more fully and to understand their experiences from their point of view. Stehr (1980) points out that to be involved in the social sciences one must take part in the social process "participation in the living content of social life is a presupposition of the understanding of the nature of this context" (pp. 40, 41). This statement seems equally valid for educational researchers.

As researchers move along the continuum from an outsider to an insider, there are changes in their relationships with the participants and changes in the type of knowledge gained. As Grant (1977) writes: "The stream of life does not merely flow by us; it immerses us all in the interaction" (p. 88). Intersubjective experiences with participants in the context of the situation provided opportunities for the participants to articulate the meaning of their experiences and in turn made it possible for me to gain a deeper understanding of the participant's interpretations.

In addition, ethnographers use a variety of other approaches such as interviewing and document analysis in order to gain an understanding of the participants' life-worlds. In this study a series of interviews was conducted with two participants. This process stops "the stream of ongoing life and consciousness, becoming attentive to particular actions or events. The meaning of the experience is established in retrospect, through interpretation and reflection" (Werner & Rothe, 1979, p. 62). There is an ongoing validation process with the participants so their interpretations of their experiences could be portrayed as faithfully as possible. It was not, therefore, a procedure whereby the researcher's relevances are imposed on the participants. On the contrary, this approach is a "joint co-operative enterprise where the integrity of the participants' views are to be carefully maintained" (Magoon, 1977, p. 667).

In the dialogue sessions open-ended questions were utilized so as not to restrict the participants' responses, but instead to provide opportunities for participants to explore the meaning of their experiences. By asking open-ended questions, the participants were offered "a frame and a canvas and asked to paint a word picture of their experiences" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972, p. 85). As high level generalized questions are often answered in abstraction and not related to personal experiences, the questions in this study sought to elicit personal constructs illustrated by concrete references (Basses, 1976). These interviews were taped and transcribed.

As outlined, the ethnographic approach encourages this study to ask the students or insiders the meaning of their exchange experience, to gather information about the cultural orientations of the participants, to search for the participants' meanings by being involved in their naturalistic setting, and to validate interpretations with the participants.

Social Phenomenological View of the Life-World

Schutz's View of the Life-World

While the ethnographic approach stresses gaining access to participants' conscious organization of their cultural experiences, a social phenomenological approach looks at what participants take for granted. Participants are not always aware of or able to vocalize these taken-for-granted aspects of social interaction in an organized manner. Schutz, a major proponent of the social phenomenological interpretation of the life-world, provides us with approaches to deepen our understanding of the social world. According to Schutz (1973), the everyday life-world is:

> That province of reality which the wide-awake and normal adult simply takes-for-granted in the attitude of common sense. By this taken-for-grantedness, we designate everything which we experience as unquestionable; every state of affairs is for us unproblematic until further notice. (pp. 3, 4)

This life-world is the paramount reality of everyday life in which individuals pursue their goals and conduct their lives. Schutz calls the everyday world of immediate experience the world of the natural attitude, a pre-scientific orientation which takes for granted the existence of fellow beings and the typicalities of common-sense thinking. He considers the natural attitude as grounded in the idealities of "and so forth" which assumes what is now viewed as valid will also be valid in the future, and "I can do it again" implying the continued ability to act upon, and within, the world. Both of these idealities are perceived as self-evident until further notice. This concept of the life-world necessitates an understanding of the everyday life-world of the participants prior to the exchange itself in order to understand how the experience affects these students' typicalities and idealities of the natural attitude.

For Schutz, the life-world is considered socially derived, interpreted, and transmitted. Each subject interacts with, and takes for granted, the existence of other human beings. This assumption is based on a prepredicative awareness of others and their consciousness. This intersubjective relationship, Schutz (1979) states, is a "fundamental ontological category of human existence, a precondition for all immeditate human experience in the life-worlds" (p. 31).

Within this world each individual interacts with others who have their own biographic standpoint, a sedimentation of past and ongoing experiences. From this viewpoint and dependent upon one's intentions, an individual perceives a situation and in turn acts.

Schutz's ideas on intersubjectivity suggest that this study should investigate the biographic standpoints of the participants. As Schutz points out, each person's biographic standpoint in the social world is partially unique. Consequently, the total understanding of a subject's experiences is a goal to be aimed for, but one which is never to be fully captured. Such an understanding would "presuppose the full identity of both our selves" (Schutz, 1970, p. 80). However, in order to grasp as full an understanding as possible, both the contextual situation and the intents of the subjects were investigated. One intent of this process was to ascertain "what the actor means in his action in contrast to the meaning which this action has for the actor's partner or a neutral observer" (Schutz, 1970, p. 274). Thus, gaining access to the actor's commonsense constructs, or ways of interpreting the world, was of prime importance.

In addition, Schutz states that individuals in their life-world take it for granted that they can place themselves so as to see the other person's point of view (reciprocity of perspectives). For pragmatic purposes biographic standpoints are assumed to be unimportant until proven otherwise. However, the question of the students' implementation of the reciprocity of perspective is problematic for this study. What exchange experiences foster or hinder this reciprocity of perspectives?

While viewing the life-world as an intersubjective one, Schutz (1978) also characterizes our everyday world as cultural because of our consciousness of its historicity and "because, from the outset, the life-world is a universe of significations to us, ie. a framework of meaning (Sinnzusammenhang) which we have to interpret, and of inter-relationship of meaning which we institute only through our action in the world" (p. 135). In order to act in this cultural world, each person depends on his or her stock of knowledge which is based on a combination of biographic experiences and the knowledge socially transmitted by the individual's pre-existing cultural group. Schutz indicates that this knowledge provides a basis for solving typical problems, that is, by the application of typical means to attain typical results. Thus, this stock of knowledge provides a frame of reference for orientating oneself in the world of everyday interaction. However, the exchange experience may open to question the appropriateness of each group's typical means. What then would be the relationship between the situation and their cultural backgrounds?

Schutz suggests that the decision as to what knowledge is deemed pertinent is determined in part by the individual's pragmatic life-plans and his/her appropriate system of relevances. These relevances are hierarchically arranged and prescribed by one's pre-existing culture to be in turn ranked by the individual according to his or her intent(s) and estimation of the given situation. These relevances can be imposed, or volitional, both being represented in various areas of immediacy within the individual's biographic perspective. Uncovering what the participants determine as being relevant, therefore, becomes important for this study.

Schutz classifies relevances into three areas: Motivational (an individual's interest prevailing at a given time in a certain situation), thematic (involving the recognition and definition of a problem), and interpretational (concerning issues in solving a problem). "Every consequential decision in the life-world brings man face to face with a series of thematic relevances of hypothetical nature, which have to be interpreted and questioned as to their motivation insertion into the life-plan" (Schutz, 1978, p. 134). Thus, in this study consideration is given to what the students take for granted in the experience and what they view as problematic.

In a study of the life-world, Schutz views the role of the social scientist as an observer of the life-worlds of others. Unlike the actor in the observed life-world who is governed by pragmatic concerns and who envisions himself or herself as the center of the world, Schutz (1978) describes the social scientist as one:

> who is also a human being among human beings in this single and uniform life-world and whose scientific work is in itself a working-together with Others in it, who constantly refers and is obliged to refer in his scientific work to his own experience of the life-world. But it must always be clearly borne in mind that the disinterested observer has to a certain extent departed from the living stream of intentionalities. (p. 139)

Thus, Schutz adds another perspective for the study of the life-world through emphasizing that the subjectivity of the actors in the life-world can be studied in an objective manner in order to develop second order constructs concerning experiences therein. This encourages us to study the social interaction of participants as their life-worlds meet.

Schutz's Ideal Type of the Stranger

Schutz's specific discussion of the stranger as an "ideal type" contributes to an understanding of the exchange experience. The in-group and out-group orientations are basic to the interpretation of a situation involving a stranger. An essential factor in in-group awareness is a "we" feeling in which not only does an individual experience himself or herself in a situation and through this perspective, but simultaneously experiences a mutual awareness of another and their intentionality. There is a mutual, subjective understanding and an ability to view these experiences from the other individual's perspective. Schutz (1970) points out that this feeling is enhanced when the typifications and relevances are shared. When individuals collectively share typifications and relevances, a collective self-interpretation or common inside view of the community is formed.

Schutz designates those who do not share these relevances and typifications as the out-group. Subsequently, the in-group may interpret that its taken-for-granted perspective is not, but should be, understood by the out-group members. Group A may have a stereotypic view of group B and a stereotypic opinion of how they are viewed by group B. Their views may, or may not, be in accord with group B's definition of the relationship.

According to Schutz, when an individual enters the life-world of another group, the taken-for-grantedness of the insider is open to question. On the other hand, the insider has ready access to recipes for typical social action. It is assumed by the insider that if the other individual in the social interaction acts in the typical expected manner then the interaction will unfold as expected. However, the stranger has to define the situation and make explicit what the insider takes for granted.

Schutz holds that the insider when acting within his or her group assumes a reciprocity of perspectives involving an assumption of congruent relevances. This is based on a temporary assumption that the biographic differences are irrelevant for the present purposes. With repect to an in and out-group relationship, this assumption is not very tenable. The stranger's biography may be quite divergent from the members in the other group. Drawn into social situations, the stranger may perceive the interaction in light of his or her typifications and motivations. In addition, the individual may have formed typifications of the other group prior to contact. Conflict between these objective typifications and the new subjective experiences may occur. This orientation may lead to a search for new meaning and a reconstruction of appropriate ways for relating in the new situation.

In this process of reorientation, the stranger lacks status as a group member. By nature of being a stranger, the individual is already defined apart from the group. The insider trusts the group's typifications seeing them as guides which have been appropriate in the past, and in all likelihood, will be effective in present and future social interaction. For the outsider, involvement is a conscious process of making decisions and endeavouring to recognize these typicalities on the basis of individual responses. This new environment is "not a shelter but a field of adventure, not a matter of course but a questionable topic of investigation, not an instrument for disentangling problematic situations but a problematic situation itself and one hard to master" (Schutz, 1970, p. 93).

Schutz's concept of the stranger raises a number of questions concerning the experiences in the exchange program such as: What typifications do the groups hold? What stereotypic views are presented? What new typifications arise in the contact situation? Initially, the participants may picture each other as strangers. How does the exchange experience effect this relationship? What makes it possible to move from a relationship between strangers to one between friends?

Phenomenological View of the Life-World

Phenomenology is rooted in Husserl's dictum "to return to the things themselves". The word "things" does not refer to objects as such, nor to an objective empirical approach. Instead, the phenomenologist turns to the lived experiences of individuals in order to understand their life-world. Merleau-Ponty (1962) states that phenomenology endeavours to return "to the world which preceeds knowledge of which knowledge always speaks, and in relation to which every scientific schematization is an abstraction and derivative sign-language" (p. 320). In this return, there is a search for the essence of the experience, that is, the deeper meaning of a situation which signifies its essential nature. This search is undertaken "to bring back all the living relationships of experience, as the fisherman's net draws up from the ocean quivering fish and seaweed" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 327). The deep structures are viewed as operating at the pre-reflective level of one's life-world. Language makes essences appear to be separate from existence but in the pre-reflective sphere they are one.

Within the phenomenological orientation there are a variety of perspectives advocated by various phenomenologists. The collective approach of Barritt, Beekman, Bleeker, and Mulderij (1979) provided part of the framework for this study. These researchers describe the life-world as an intersubjective world of commonsense knowledge. Barritt et al. "would like to see the ordinary world of experience elevated in importance" (p. 4) in the realm of research. Although they consider the contextual situation in terms of its history and future goals as being important, it is the search for the meaning of the experience itself that they focus on. Thus, in this study these authors would phrase the major question as follows: What is the experience of the exchange program like? In searching for the meaning of the experience, phenomenologists do not examine a set of pre-selected variables, rather, they put aside or bracket preconceived notions so as to put the natural attitude in question. Consequently, they "look naively, with a sense of wonder at events and ask questions that usually aren't asked because of their simplicity" (Barritt et al., 1979, p. 4)

Barritt et al. (1979) take the child's experience seriously. To this end, children are requested to describe their experiences verbally or in writing. As these authors believe that generality comes from a study of the particular, personal accounts of individuals are analyzed for common thematic elements. These thematic elements are shared by different individuals in the experience and can be organized into themes representing significant meanings of the experience itself. They state: "There is no formula that we know of to identify themes 'objectively'. We read the written accounts and allow them to speak to us" (p. 12).

This thematic analysis approach was applied in this study. Students were requested to describe in writing meaningful incidents engaged in during different parts of the exchange program (Appendix F). Subsequently, the students' descriptions of their exchange experiences were analyzed so as to focus on shared experiences and to present the themes uncovered in an understandable manner.

In order to portray the integrity of the participants' experiences, the two students who were interviewed in depth were provided with film to take pictures of their exchange experiences. In support of this process, Crane (1979) stated: "A few innovative projects have used members of the society being studied as the photographers thereby gaining valuable insights into how people view and represent their own society and culture" (p. 158). Consequently, through this photographic approach, the participants, not the researcher, determine the focus of the observations which provide a potential entry into the private world of the participants. Further, participants' photographs of their experiences supplied a concrete record of the exchange program and provided a basis for discussion during the interview sessions. A further intent for using photographs was to foster a relaxed atmosphere which would subsequently encourage more detailed, concrete accounts and instill in the interviewees a strong sense of contributing, directing, and sharing in the dialogue. Collier (1967) reported that utilizing photographs maintained the level of conversation, reduced stress, and sharpened memory during sessions with Navaho groups. Similar results were indicated by Crane (1974) who additionally claimed that pictures call forth attitudes, feelings, and values as well. An analysis of the students' photographs, allowed a further probing for phenomenological themes.

The work of van Manen provides further insights into appropriate methodological approaches for a phenomenological investigation of the life-world. In the turning to immediate lived experience, van Manen states that phenomenology is "the application of logos (language and thoughtfulness) to the phenomenon (lived experience), to what shows itself" (1984, p. 41). The coming to know the concreteness of the experience is not itself sufficient. Through an ongoing process, this concreteness is probed so as to reveal the essential nature of the lived experience being studied. In terms of this approach, the major question becomes what is the nature of the exchange experience? That is, what makes the exchange experience different from other educational experiences?

To deal with this question, access had to be gained to the participants' descriptions of their experiences during the exchange program. Two approaches were employed to do so. Participants were asked to describe in writing what their most meaningful experiences were. In addition, two students were engaged in dialogue during a series of interviews. They described their experiences and discussed what were the essential characteristics of the exchange experience for them. Underlying this pursuit was the recognition that these participants' experiences shared aspects in common with the experiences of others and vice versa. The question emerged: How do these experiences speak to the essence of the exchange experience?

Responding to this question does not mean following a linear route. Representing experiences in written format such as a dissertation may give the impression of such a process. The actual pursuit is sometimes more like looking for a specific book by call number but suddenly coming upon a book on the same shelf which catches your eye. The discovered book leads you in a different direction as new ideas are juxtaposed with earlier understandings.

A phenomenological search draws upon a variety of resources and approaches. One such approach is to investigate the etymology of essential words which may reveal what now appears hidden concerning the original use of the term. This can assist in coming to understand more deeply the origin of our lived experiences which we often find so difficult to express in words. A further search of idiomatic expressions and proverbs associated with a particular experience offer a succinct telling of lived experiences.

When endeavouring to understand the particulars of the experience, we do not have to confine ourselves to the specifics of the situation. The thoughts and investigations of others who are in pursuit of understanding human experiences can provide another means of dialogue. This dialogue can raise questions and provide new direction. Likewise, learning what an experience is "not" can encourage a deeper understanding of what an experience "is". Through a pursuit of these different approaches, we become more experienced ourselves. That is, we both broaden and deepened our understanding of an experience.

In this coming to understand the phenomena and in portraying this understanding, there is a search for the major themes which identify the experiential structures constituting an experience. Van Manen states that "a thematic phrase only serves to point at, to allude to, or to hint at, an aspect of the phenomenon" (1984, p. 60). It is the interplay of themes which give a phenomenon its essential character. The task of the researcher becomes to find ways to have the reader re-live the participants' experiences.

This study searched the participants' descriptive accounts and transcribed interviews for phrases and descriptions which captured an essential aspect of the exchange experience. Photographs were studied to determine what aspects of the experience the participants chose to capture. Sometimes it was a participant's heavy sigh or a genuine look of surprise which pointed to an important theme. Further dialogue with participants allowed opportunities for a deepening and confirmation of my thematic analysis.

The later stages of reflective writing drew me in new directions. At certain points, I was unable to clearly ascertain and encapsulate the underlying themes. This lead to a further search in the literature for metaphors which could provide illumination. Insights provided by other investigators allowed me to see with different lenses what had previously appeared hidden.

A further struggling with the essence of the exchange experience was provided by varying the examples. One such opportunity was provided when I investigated the feelings and thoughts of students who did not want to participate in the proposed exchange program. By coming to understand what the students wished to avoid, I was able to come closer to what was the essentialness of the experience. Varying the examples was also a useful process when I compared the exchange experience to other educational experiences such as field trips or camping trips. This dialectical interplay brought forward the thematic elements which distinguish an exchange experience from other activities.

By presenting this ongoing analytical pursuit for themes, it was hoped that the reader could become a participant in this journey as well. The phenomenological approach provides a framework which guides this journey into the life-worlds of the participants.

Conclusion

As we have witnessed, the life-world can be approached from different perspectives. Each approach provides a different access to a participant's life-world. These different perspectives entice us to see and to speak of the nature of the experience as it is lived by beings-in-a-situation. My goal was to re-search the meanings that were created by participants' in their life-worlds. This quest to discover the essential nature of the exchange experience called into question even the very naming of the experience as an "exchange". In this search I was eventually drawn to the works of Levinas, Buber, Blum, and Sadler. Their relationship to this study will be discussed in the appropriate context in the following chapters.

As educators, our quest does not end with the discovery of the nature of the exchange experience. By revealing what the exchange experience "is", we are forced to consider what the actual experience as lived by students ought to be and to search for approaches which will enhance the attainment of its essential nature.

Validity and Reliability

> Qualitative measures are quantitatively accurate; qualitative evaluations are always subject to the error of human judgment. Yet it would seem far more worthwhile to make a shrewd guess regarding that which is essential than to accurately measure that which is likely to prove irrelevant. (Robinson, 1974, p. 252)

The approaches to a study of the life-world outlined earlier in this chapter have emphasized a qualitative orientation to research rather than a quantitative one. The approach used to determine validity is dependent upon the research paradigm employed. One important source of validation for this study is the "extent to which the findings are faithful to and consistent with the experience of those who live in that world" (Psathas, 1973, p. 12). The ongoing interaction of the interview process allowed opportunities to verify the interviewees' understandings and themes. In addition, I was able to discuss the findings from the written responses of the other students and my own observations with my two interviewees. This is in contrast to the validity of the empirical model which is based on separation of observer and the world with detachment considered important.

Psathas (1973) has outlined a second type of validity which deals with the involvement of the reader. That is, after reading the study is the reader able to utilize this knowledge to understand similar social events? This is not to say that two social happenings are identical as their very situatedness effects the potential interaction. However, this study endeavoured to present pertinent information in the form of quotations and descriptions so that the reader would be able to appreciate the spirit of the social interaction and recognize the similarities and differences between this study and their situation. An external source of validity was also employed as the themes that emerged were discussed with co-ordinators of another student exchange program to see if there was agreement.

Stake (1978) has indicated that a case study is valid "if it gives an accurate and useful representation of the case in a certain setting . . . accuracy of observing and reporting is more than a matter of everyone seeing the same thing, for many observations cannot be made independent of the observer's point of view" (p. 28). With this in mind examples were provided of my cultural experiences. In addition, the research paradigm from which this study operated was outlined for the reader. Attention was given to providing sufficient primary data so that the reader would be able to interpret the findings to judge if their interpretations were congruent with mine as researcher.

A third type of validity outlined by Psathas (1973) responds to the question: Can the reader become a player in a similar social event after reading the account? A number of factors such as age, sex, and other biographic factors may prevent readers from participating in a similar event in the same manner. However, it is hoped that the readers will be able to put themselves in the positions of the participants. As Spradley and McCurdy (1972) note: "The test of descriptive adequacy must always refer to an informant's interpretation of events not simply to the occurrance of events" (p. 59). Failure of the reader to predict an event in a new situation does not necessarily mean that the description is inadequate as the participating members of the group may be unable to do so in actual interaction as well.

In the interpretive approach, multiple perspectives of a given social situation are acknowledged. These perspectives themselves are dynamic. Thus, a researcher endeavours to form as complete a picture as possible, accepting the fact that a particular interpretation is not static nor complete. The researcher is able to pursue dialectical relationships between the various perspectives. On the other hand, participants may not be fully aware of their involvement in such a process, or if they are, they may not have access to the same variety of perspectives as the researcher.

This process of using two or more methods for collecting data in order to check for consistency and/or further elucidation has been labelled triangulation by Cohen and Manion (1980). In this study a wide variety of approaches/resources have been employed such as questionnaires, student written descriptions, in-depth interviews, photographs, and observation. These various methodological approaches offer different vantage points. The interplay of the understandings gained encouraged an ongoing dialectical search which enabled a more holistic picture to emerge. The goal of this process was to expand the reader's and my understanding of the exchange experience so as to be able to more deeply describe its essential nature.

The question of reliability in this research process has several facets. Unlike an empirical study the reader cannot rely on the statistical structures of reliability. Although the specific research approaches utilized in this study have been employed in other studies, the interplay of situational factors does not allow us to say that there is, for example, a test retest reliability coefficient of .78.

Because of the importance of the researcher as research instrument in this ecclectic approach, it is necessary for the reader to consider the methodological procedures selected and my interpretive competency in dealing with the data. It is hoped that by making explicit sufficient data and by outlining personal reflections, the reader will be able to make a competent decision in this regard by collaborating in an ongoing interpretation of the data.

In this process one may ask if the information supplied by the participants is reliable. Efforts were taken to ensure the anonimity of the participants and to emphasize that it was their perspective of the experience that was desired. By expressing a willingness and interest to listen to the students' thoughts and opinions, the intention was to create an open, trusting relationship which would encourage the participants to be open and frank in their comments.

Through this process, it was hoped that the participants would reveal their fullest understanding of the experience. Because of the flow of the experience and the opportunities available to gain access to their thoughts at various points in the experience, the potential existed for understanding changes in their ideas. In addition, within the interpretive approach, whatever motive an individual displays, is worthy of study and further investigation. For example, if a participant wishes to withhold information, or appears to provide inconsistent information, this is valuable to represent and to understand in further depth.

By definition, a situational study acknowledges both the uniqueness of personal experiences and multiple interpretations of an experience. Interpretation and experience are in a dialectical relationship, each ceaselessly informing the other. The present exchange program under study, because of a multiplicity of factors, will never be consistently and totally replicable. Within the framework of the study itself, the participants' meanings of the exchange program may change with each new experience and with their reflection upon their experiences. At the same time, the reader may perceive similarities between the experiences and meanings outlined in this study and their own, or in other ways see the findings as significant. Therefore, this research report is not a final fixed statement, but the present "frozen at the time of writing" (Robinson, 1974, p. 255).

Generalizability

A question often asked about the findings of a situational interpretive study is how can you generalize from the findings? Advocates of this research approach have indicated that if one wants to attempt to generalize from a study to the real world, then the study itself should occur in a natural setting (Stake, 1978). If the problems for investigation emerge from the natural setting rather than preconceived problems, then the potential for generalizability is increased.

Earlier in this introduction I indicated that the purpose of this study was not to produce law-like generalizations or predictive statements but to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of an exchange experience. This understanding assists one in seeing the meaning in the particular, the concrete, or the unique situation and in turn to perceive meaning in new situations depending on one's intents. Thus, for the participants this direct experience may develop new expectations which will guide their future actions. The vicarious experience of the reader may also affect his or her present understanding. When the reader deals with other situations, the similaries and differences between this study and their new experiences may become evident. The new understandings gained are not, however, final as they are in a continual dialectical relationship with each succeeding experience. Stake (1978) points out that situational studies "may be epistomologically in harmony with the reader's experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization" (p. 5).

Through attempting to understand that which is unique in time and space, we gain insights which move us beyond the specifics of the given experience. This research portrayal hopefully guides us in focussing on issues which arise in our present situation or which will develop in our future endeavours. Thus, one intent of this research portrayal was to encourage a questioning of our own situation and to deepen our understanding of our own and similar situations.

Chapter V

ENTRY

Locating Subjects

When reading reports on the selection of "subjects" for study, the reader is often led to believe that this choice was made at random. The researcher chooses and the subjects consent. However, the real world conjured up a more perilous journey for this researcher. This aspect of the research process will be described so as to provide the reader with an fuller understanding of this journey.

After moving to Vancouver, I set out with an air of optimism to enquire about Native communities in British Columbia from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. I "selected" and then proceeded to gather initial background information on New Dawn School through a discussion with an educator who had previously been involved with this school.

My inital telephone contact with the principal of New Dawn School was at the end of September, 1981. Following this conversation the principal decided to discuss personally the idea of an exchange program with her staff before I drove out to the school. During a follow-up telephone conversation, the principal stated that there had been insufficient time to discuss the proposed New Dawn-Vancouver exchange. In the course of the conversation some confusion was noted as the principal had understood that the exchange would involve only one day in each respective community, not five, as I had indicated previously. A heavy pause then followed in the conversation. An offer was again made to drive out to the school to describe the proposed program. Again politely refused.

When I contacted the principal a week later, she stated that they had decided not to be involved in the proposed exchange program as they had a full program following the provincial curriculum and their own cultural program. An exchange was interpreted as taking students "away from" the learning experiences provided by the school. In retrospect, driving out to the school without initially phoning may have provided a more productive opportunity for direct contact and detailed discussion.

Unable to contact another appropriate Native school in British Columbia, I contacted a friend teaching at Neheawin School on an Indian reserve in Alberta. He agreed to explore the possiblity of an exchange program with a school in Vancouver. Meanwhile, I phoned the sixty-five secondary schools in the greater Vancouver area and outlined the program briefly. Twenty-four of these schools indicated that they had applied, or were in the process of doing so, for sponsorship under the Open House Canada Exchange Program. In the greater Vancouver area, 88% of the applications for sponsorship under the Open House Canada Program fell under the program's priority number one: exchanges between groups speaking the two official languages. None of the groups had applied, nor were intending to, for exchanges with Native people. In addition, about twenty-five percent of the applications were from either choir or band groups. Consequently, if an individual were able to play a tuba and to speak French, his or her chances of participating were enhanced.

As a result of telephone conversations with the secondary principals, I organized meetings with three different schools. At B.C. School I met with a teacher who had previously been involved in a number of Open House Canada Exchange Programs. At that point he was trying to organize an exchange with a school in Quebec, but felt they would be interested in an exchange with Neheawin School if their proposed exchange "failed". During this process, two teachers from Van School contacted me to indicate their interest. At a meeting the following day, both teachers enthusiastically related incidents concerning previous experiences taking student excursion groups to Quebec. It was anticipated that students would respond favorably to the proposed exchange. Bill, one of the teachers, remarked: "It is going to be difficult choosing participants from all those who will apply!" John's enthusiasm was shown by his desire to offer a Native Studies component in a social studies program for those intending to participate in the proposed exchange.

After obtaining this initial agreement, I journeyed to Edmonton hoping to proceed with plans with Neheawin School. In a telephone conversation my original contact was evasive about being involved in the exchange program himself, but he indicated that he was still discussing the program with other staff members. Hesitancy was likewise evidenced in a telephone discussion with the principal of Neheawin school. I was informed that he would not be available for a meeting until his month-end reports had been completed and until the teacher's convention was over the following week. In addition, the principal emphasized: "I want to be confident that a teacher will be willing to commit her energy before you come out to our school." After three weeks, I was informed that the teachers were unwilling to participate as the exchange would take too much after school involvement. In addition, several of the teachers speculated that since many parents were experiencing various social problems they would be unwilling to have non-Natives in their homes. Neither the parents, nor the students, were consulted in the school's decision to reject involvement in the exchange program.

After this decision was announced, I contacted several other Native schools in Alberta. When I spoke with the principal of Peyak School, he amazed me by responding very enthusiastically. The next day I propelled myself to the school before he changed his mind. The discussion at out meeting centered around the dates for the proposed exchange, the intents and interests of the school in Vancouver, a description of Van School and community, and possible activities. Then I was ecstatically off to Vancouver packing my bags and a smile!

Prior to my return to Vancouver, the teachers at Van School had briefly discussed the exchange program with each of their classes. At two assemblies Bill outlined the exchange program and its relationship to their academic program. Ten minutes was allocated for me to show a series of slides concerning Native and non-Native exchanges that I had been involved with. Little time remained for questions. A letter explaining the program and requesting permission from parents for their child's involvement was handed out. The forms were to be returned four days later. The results: four affirmative responses. The co-ordinators expressed disbelief and disappointment. Their traditional parting message: "Have a Merry Christmas!" rang out with anticipated hollowness.

With panic as my motive, I telephoned B.C. School which I had contacted earlier in the fall. As the school's preliminary arrangements with a school in Quebec had not materialized, the teacher appeared interested. After discussing the exchange program with his students and after sending forms home for parental consent, this teacher indicated three weeks after the Christmas vacation that only a few students were able to participate. When I suggested a small group exchange funded by myself, the co-ordinator expressed a desire to pursue a search for another French speaking group in Quebec.

As a result of discussions with Peyak School in Alberta and Van School, I decided to see if I could negotiate a small group exchange funded by myself. The offer to fund the program appeared necessary as Open House Canada does not sponsor groups of less than fifteen. When this financial proposal and offer to chaperone were made to the principal of Van School, he felt that since the parents did not know me it would be inappropriate for me to act as chaperone. Furthermore, he took the position that a small group exchange would be as much of a strain on the school as a large group exchange. His parting comment was: "At this time I think we are flogging a dead horse[illegible]

Further contacts with other schools did not produce a group willing to participate. Several respondents suggested that members of local Native organizations might be interested in participating. What was the underlying assumption? Was it that only Native people would be willing and appropriate candidates for an exchange with Native people? As time progressed, I became enveloped in the very real sense of frustration and rejection that Native people face.

Realizing that the regular school system administrators did not appear receptive to a small group exchange, I contacted the fourteen alternative schools in Vancouver. An inital agreement was reached to have the Whole Earth School in Vancouver participate in a small group exchange with Neheawin School. In the succeeding four weeks, I attended nine meetings with the teachers and prospective participants. The group's main method of reaching decisions was by consensus. The students were very inquisitive and did not hesitate to express their opinions. Those students chosen to participate each sent a short autobiographical sketch to Neheawin School.

Just as I thought the process was ideally underway, the principal of Neheawin School decided to withdraw from the program. The reasons provided were uneasiness in selecting a small group of students from the total student body, the younger age of some of his students relative to the Whole Earth students, and the family home situations of two Whole Earth students. A number of alternatives were suggested, but we were unable to resolve these issues to his satisfaction. His conversation led me to believe that there were other political considerations involved, but I was unable to investigate this further. Needless to say, the students at Whole Earth School were disappointed. They expressed the sentiment that the program was cancelled because they were students at an "alternative" school.

At this point I seriously considered dropping the study, not because I doubted its worth, but because I valued my sanity. After some deliberation, I again contacted B.C. School. They had just recently located a school in Quebec willing to be involved in an exchange program. Luckily, the co-ordinator permitted my involvement as a researcher. This search for my "subjects" had taken six months and two large bottles of aspirins.

Issues Arising Out of Entry Process

When searching for a school willing to participate in the proposed exchange program, a number of issues surfaced. As there was not an existing Native and non-Native exchange program that I was able to locate, my initial role was to act as a catalyst rather than as an observer in an ongoing project. In this role I experienced difficulties permeating administrative walls. Some administrators interpreted exchange programs in general, and exchanges with Native people in particular, as an extra source of concern and effort. They felt the risks outweighed the anticipated gains.

A second problem involved reaching teachers who were willing to extend a concerted effort into organizing programs which would draw themselves and their students outside the walls of their educational institutions. From discussions both with teachers interested in exchange programs and those unwilling to be involved, a number of features emerged as characteristic of organizers. These characteristics were: a philosophy which envisions lived experience as a basis for meaningful learning, a willingness to spend time outside class in independent and group preparation, an openness to new experiences, an ability to co-ordinate and promote a program, and a facility to act in a diplomatic role with parents, students, and other staff members.

A third issue concerned reaching students and then encouraging their involvement in exchange programs. This had not been a problem when I had previously organized exchanges in Native communities. Enthusiasm had been high. At the same time I was not directly aware of the difficulties that co-ordinators in non-Native communities had when organizing exchanges with Native students. However, my experiences with various schools in Vancouver led me to reflect more upon the whole issue of participation.

This whole journey also illustrated the reluctance of some schools to allow a researcher into their world for an extended period of time. Would there have been this same resistance to utilizing one period for a multiple choice test? The question of entry itself was problematic.

Unlike some experimental investigations, the participants could not be randomly selected from the student population. To become part of this study, the students had to first choose to be involved in a specific exchange. The criteria of the funding organization affected this selection. For example, over three quarters of the exchange programs funded by Open House Canada have been French-English exchanges. Consequently, most students have to be enrolled in French language courses. For many students French is considered part of an academic program leading to post secondary education particularly university. Similarly, because of the time "taken away from school work" one prominent factor utilized in the selection process is a student's level of academic achievement. As Porter (1974) has pointed out, the students who attend university tend to come from the middle and upper classes where the parents already have a higher income and level of education. However, with the proposed exchange with Native students the issue of French language and related effects on the selection process was not an issue. A pressing question then emerged: what underlied the non-Native students' decisions not to participate in the proposed exchange? Although this question was not anticipated in my thesis proposal, it grew out of the actual situatedness of this study.

In my thesis proposal I wrote the following statement: "Because of the unique features of any given situational study and because the prime concern is to uncover and portray the participants' meanings of the experience, the methodological approach must remain flexible and open to modification in response to the situation." At the time I did not fully realize the practical implications of this prophetic statement. Similarly MacDonald (1982) and his associates indicated after involvement in a study of bilingual schooling: "It is important to recognize that qualitative methodologies expose research teams as much to the caprice of circumstance as to the great creative gains of serendipity" (270). During the course of this study, I was involved in proposed exchanges between: a local Native school and non-Native school in British Columbia, an Alberta Native school and non-Native British Columbia mainstream school, and a small group from an Alberta

Native school and a small group from an alternative non-Native school in British Columbia. Finally, I was able to be involved in a large group exchange program between English speaking students from British Columbia and French speaking students from Quebec.

While imbibing the original turmoil involved in gaining access to exchange participants, I initially viewed these endeavours as "failures". It then occurred to me that if I were searching in the jungle in order to study the experiences of elephants, I would not disregard the roar of a lion on my pathway. Studying the lion could divulge information concerning his relationship to the elephant and in turn about the elephant itself. By stepping back from the situation, I realized the potential these failures had for this study. Through searching to understand both the perceptions of exchange participants and non-participants, a deeper understanding of the meaning of an exchange experience could evolve.

Chapter Vl

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS ON VAN SCHOOL STUDENTS' LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROPOSED NATIVE EXCHANGE

Survey Instrumentation

Following the recruiting sessions at Van School, four out of a possible 195 students returned signed forms indicating an interest in joining the proposed exchange program. Consequently, a number of questions arose during discussions with the co-ordinators such as: What factors did the students consider in reaching their decision? How important an issue was money? What influence did Native student involvement have on the students' decisions? What was their understanding of an exchange experience? As a result of these discussions, one of the co-ordinators developed a survey form entitled: "S.S. Survey Re: Alberta Exchange" (Appendix A). Due to the Christmas break, this survey was administered during the second week of January, 1982. For analysis purposes, the only data that was utilized was that of students who participated in the assemblies (grade nine - 91 respondents and grade ten - 86 respondents).

Scoring of the Ranking Responses

The survey form provided nineteen possible reasons for not participating in the exchange and requested the respondents to outline any additional reason(s) that effected their decision. Students were instructed to rank only those statements which applied to their situation. Only a few students ranked more than six items. A weighting system was employed as follows: first - 6, second - 5, third - 4, fourth - 3, fifth - 2, and sixth - 1. For each item the individual weighted responses were summed, and then the percentage of the total weighted amount for each item was calculated. Results were tabulated separately for grade nines and tens.

Presentation and Analysis of Data on Ranking Item

In order to establish if the grade nine and ten rankings differed significantly, a Spearman's Coefficient of Rank Correlation was utilized. To test the significance of the computed coefficient of .6965, a *t* test with 17 degrees of freedom and a level of significance of .05 was employed. As the calculated *t* of 4.00 was greater than the critical *t* of 2.11, the null hypothesis was rejected. That is to say, a positive significant correlation was found between the rankings of the grade nine and ten students. The combined rankings are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2

Ranking of Student Responses - S.S. Survey Re Alberta Exchange

Rank	Percent of Weighted Amount	Item
1	13.7	Program too expensive.
2	9.6	Program didn't sound interesting.
3	8.7	I'd miss too much regular school.
4.5	8.4	Signing up for this program would disrupt my electives
4.5	8.4	Concern over the cost kept me from signing up.
6	7.8	The actual trip didn't interest me.
7	6.8	I'm not turned on by the idea of staying on an Indian Reserve.
8	4.9	Didn't like the teachers involved.
9	4.0	Not able to host a student in my home.
10.5	3.7	The course part of the program didn't interest me.
10.5	3.7	Slides and talk didn't sell me.
12	3.6	My parents were against the idea.
13	3.5	I was afraid I would get stuck taking an extra social studies course.
14.5	3.3	Wasn't told enough about the exchange program.
14.5	3.3	Did not want to host a student in my home for a week
16	2.5	Don't like Native Indians.
17	2.3	Trip would not take students far enough away from home.
18	1.3	I did not feel it was a good idea to host a Native Indian in our home for a week.
19	.5	School already has too many travel programs

Looking at those items which contributed five or more percent of the total weighted amount, the number one and 4.5 ranked items considered the cost of the trip as deterrents. Lack of interest in the program itself was second in importance. The concern over missing school (3rd) and the expected effect on their option choices (4.5) were important considerations. The trip itself was not one which appealed to the students. Ranking seventh in importance were the negative feelings associated with staying on a Indian reserve.

In order to gain a further understanding of the survey results, the responses were grouped under the following categories: course related (disrupt electives, miss school, and extra social studies), high cost, lack of interest in program and trip, and Native issues (staying on a reserve, hosting a Native student and disliking Native students). No other single item contributed five percent or more to the total weighted score. This information is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

STUDENTS' REASONS FOR NOT PARTICIPATING IN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Percent of Weighted Amount	Reason Provided
22.2	High Cost
21.1	Lack of interest
20.6	Course Issues
10.6	Native Issues

Although the percentage in each of the top three categories was very close, the perceived cost of the program appeared an important deterrent. A general lack of interest in the course program, trip and exchange program was evident in the students' responses. Restriction of class organizational options and the anticipated loss of school time prevented some students from participating. Negative reactions to Native people and staying on Indian reserves accounted for about 11% of the weighted responses.

Within the parameters of the survey itself, certain issues arose due to the phrasing of the statements. For example, the responses to the statement: "My parents were against the idea." could have included parents who did not want their child participating because of their own negative feelings toward Native people. Similarly, some of the students may not have been "interested" in the program because Native people were involved. Thus, the full extent of the importance of Native issues may not have surfaced. In addition, phrases using the word "interesting" lacked specificity so that it was difficult to determine the intention of the respondents.

Although the ranking item provided a framework for students to add their own reasons for not participating, only two students chose to do so. The ranking results provided a statistical glimpse of the relative emphasis that students placed on certain factors preselected by a researcher. The students, therefore, did not structure the portrayal of their perceptions; the words were provided. The survey results shed some light on the situation, as they move us one step closer to the life-worlds of the students. At this point, a number of questions seemed to come to the fore: What underlay the students' apparent lack of interest in the exchange? How do the students describe their feelings toward Native people? What constitutes an exchange program for the students? In a broader sense, what was concealed by their responses on the survey form that could be revealed using other approaches?

Concerns Expressed in Students' Written and Interview Responses

Introduction

In order to deepen my understanding of the students' perceptions, I searched for their concerns as indicated in their written responses to the question: "In your own words, please explain why you did not apply for the Alberta Exchange" (Appendix A). In turn, to probe and validate these concerns twelve of the survey respondents were interviewed.

The written responses were grouped together as clusters of meanings as they emerged. These statements were re-read and essential words underlined. For example, the following comments were first grouped under the topic: views of Native people.

> It is not that I don't like the indians but I have heard that they are pretty bad in behaviour wise and I don't feel like being in the middle of an indian fight.
>
> My parents said that they're poor. They might drink or I might get raped. They said what if you are sleeping, and the father of the other kid has been drinking, wakes you up and pulls you outside and rapes you or hurts you. You can't do anything because you're all by yourself.
>
> The Mother and Father could drink and we could get hit. I am afraid that I mit get hurt and never see my mom and dad.
>
> I didn't feel safe going somewhere I had never been (even photo's would have helped) with people I never knew.

From these expressions, a summative statement was constructed. For the above comments, one student perception that emerged was: proposed interaction with Native people filled students with fear for their personal safety.

This and other summative statements were discussed with six pairs of volunteer students who had responded on the survey form. Each of the approximately thirty minute sessions was conducted three weeks after the survey forms had been completed. Since two students were involved per session, each student could contribute when he/she felt comfortable doing so. At the commencement of each session, the purpose for the dialogue was explained: to gain an understanding of the students' ideas concerning the lack of involvement in the proposed exchange program. Each student agreed to have the conversation tape recorded.

As a preorganizer, I developed a group of questions based on my analysis of the ranking items and written responses. The original list of guiding questions is provided in Appendix B. During the course of the interviews, the order of the questions and their phrasing varied depending on the flow of the conversation. In some cases, the questions were not posed directly as the students responded to them in their other comments. In addition, questions arose in the context of the discussions themselves. A transcript of one of these interviews is included in Appendix C.

After the interviews were transcribed, each was read repeatedly. Statements were collected under topics as they emerged. Then the interviews were compared with regards to common topics and variations. For purposes of a more effective portrayal, the cluster of meanings arising out of the analysis of the written responses and the interviews will be discussed as one. Where a topic arrived at through one process is not validated in the other, this will be noted. A quotation from a written response will be indicated by a "W" while a quotation from an interview will be shown with an "I".

High Cost

A large number of students had indicated that the issue of money was an important one in the ranking item. During the assemblies, it had been explained that they could sign up and withdraw at a later date if the government grant was not forthcoming. This option was not exercised on the returned permission forms. At the same time, 11 students indicated in the written section of the survey that they would have seriously considered participating if the funding had been secured. Thus, this approach revealed new information as the conclusion reached from a study of the ranking data was that no respondent considered involvement in the program. At the same time, the remainder of the forty-eight statements dealing with the topic of cost stressed that the trip was too expensive.

However, in the interviews the students confidently expressed that they could have secured the funds if the location and the exchange group had been different. The following exerpt from one interview illustrates this point (Don refers to myself):

> Don A number of people mentioned expense. If it had been to another location, would expense have been an issue?
>
> Bob That basically depends. Like if it--like say you were going to Mexico for a month or so there's a lot of people that would like to go. So you probably wouldn't have any problem because they'd find some way to raise the money.
>
> Jack Yeah! A lot of parents would have agreed with the money. It didn't matter most of the kids all have money. Most of the parents would be willing.
>
> Don If the location--
>
> Bob If they thought, like it's going to be a good location for a good experience. Like Mexico, they probably would have found the money some how.

As one co-ordinator emphasized when studying the survey results: "If we were going to Disneyland, they'd come up with the money." As suggested in the written responses of the survey and further supported in the interviews, the financial aspect was not the major obstacle that the ranking item appeared to signify. Potential cost appeared to be an initial rationalization for not participating. It provided a focus on an external factor. The real impediment was the underlying doubt: Would the proposed exchange be "worth" the financial and human investment? This question of worth will be probed in the following sections.

Course Issues

About 30% of the students referred to course related issues in the written responses. A major confusion rose over the course designation of the common subject to be taking by participants. Many feared that they would lose their elective, or be forced to enrol in extra social studies class. Social studies classes were not viewed very enthusiastically. As many of these students felt their choices were being limited, they interpreted the exchange in terms of what they would "miss", rather than what they would "gain".

An exchange was not seen as an integral part of the "school work". As one student wrote: "I would miss a lot of my school time and it's so close to the end of the school. I think it would be really interesting but I don't want to miss any school work." In the minds of a number of students, this falling behind could result in failure at the end of the term. This was linked to the interviewees' characterization of exchange participants as high academic achievers. This is illustrated by the following comment: "Another thing I heard was that the not so bright people--like you know the average students, aren't going to be picked. They're going to pick the grade 'A' students." An exchange program was portrayed as something extra, a course enrichment for those students who were already academically successful. The "real school work" for most students was envisioned as occurring in the confines of the school building, not outside its walls.

Communication Problems

Both the concern over enrolment in the course and the financial issues, illustrate problems in communication. From the students' point of view there was insufficient information provided concerning the proposed exchange program. This is reflected in the questions raised in the following written statement:

> I also don't know what I will be doing once we get there. Talks, discussions, camping? What is the whole idea of this trip? In general I would like more details. I don't know what the trip involves either, like what we will be doing and how you get there, and how you gather supplies for camping etc.

There was an expressed need for the program to be explained in detail, an uneasiness with the apparent vagueness of the description provided. This was succinctly voiced in the student's question: "What is the whole idea of this trip?" This was a crucial question which expressed a search for the meaning of an exchange experience. However, it was not dealt with explicitly in discussions. The co-ordinators had envisioned the exchange as providing opportunities for social and cultural interaction. They had assumed that the students would have the same expectations. In addition, one student suggested (I):

> There wasn't enough advertisement. If you want to get this thing off the ground you really have to advertise it. If

> all the teachers work together, or even if you took it to the Stüdent Council. It's like any activity. You've got to keep pushing it, pushing it!

Thus, part of the issue involved organizational problems compounded by inappropriate communication concerning the intents of an exchange program.

Influence of Other Individuals

One new influence that emerged as being meaningful was the role played by individuals as they endeavoured to maintain friendships. Involved in this process was the effect of group pressure as illustrated in the following conversation:

> Don Did friends play a role in people's decision to go, or not to go?
>
> June Oh definitely! Umm. People don't have their own minds anymore. They always go by others like if--like say--
>
> John Opinions.
>
> June Yeah! Opinions. Like, it's if you're doing a test and twenty people in the class write one answer and you're the only one in the class that writes a different answer and you're right and they're wrong. You still go with them because it's the majority of the people.
>
> Don So it kind of pressures you.
>
> June Yeah!

There was an expressed desire not to stand out, or to be alone. On the contrary, being a group member and following the group's expectations were vital. Some students were unsure whether they wanted to participate in the exchange. Discussions with friends who were equally unsure, or definite in their stand not to join, diminished many students' determination to sign up. There was a desire to avoid situations which would take them away from existing friends. For example, one girl had joined a band trip to Alberta where the group members were billeted with families. One of her major reasons for disliking the experience was the limited contact with her participating school friends. The perceived social nature of an exchange program and its interplay with other factors is illustrated when one student explained (W): "I would like to go if some of my friends were going but they were uninterested and I couldn't persuade them to go mainly because of their prejudice against Indians." Concern for friendship dominated some other factors. However, making new friends, especially with Native students, was not a desired goal for involvement in an exchange program.

Parents were another group which exerted influence in the decision-making process. The following factors were reported as negating involvement: lack of room in the home, both parents working, students would miss too much school, expenses involved in the exchange, and lack of information. Underlying many of the comments was a parental concern over social and economic issues on Indian reserves. This was reflected in the comments of one student (W):

> Mom and Dad are afraid that Indians get drunk. She has heard that their houses are dirty too. She said she would worry about me every day I was away. At first I wanted to go, but after talking with them I think I would like to go back East to Ottawa or Montreal instead.

In some cases parents provided support for their child's own decision not to participate while in other situations parents refused permission.

Choice of Specific Location

For some students, the greater the physical distance from their home, the greater the appeal. A number of students mentioned that they had already travelled to Alberta and had "seen" what interested them. Some responses were less than poetic in describing the virtues of a trip to Alberta as pointed out in the following remark (W): "Because Alberta is the shits! I'd rather stay in B.C." For other students Alberta was considered too close to home, too like home.

When considering location, a strong preference was expressed for visiting urban rather than rural communities as shown in the following interview exerpt:

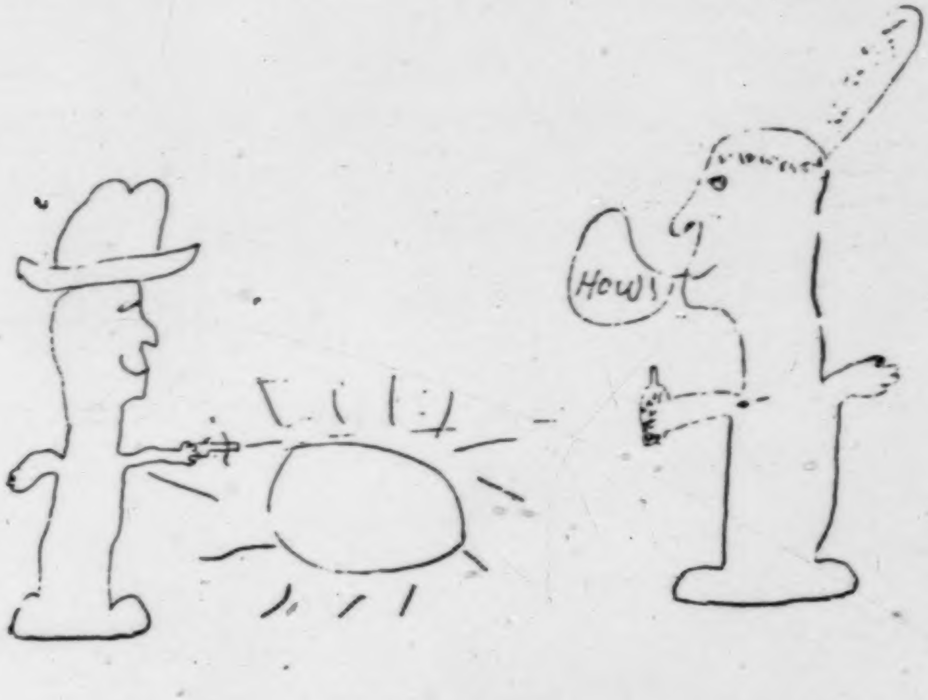
> Don Do you think if the trip had been to some place else, Quebec or some other location, would more people have been interested?
>
> Bill Well I think probably because this place that was assigned it's sort of not popular--
>
> Eric Out in the boonies.
>
> Bill But a big town like Edmonton or something like that where they've got lots to see and they've heard about the Oilers. They'd probably want to go and see. But this place here wasn't too popular.

Students stressed that there were more "sights", more things to "see", in urban areas. Man-made physical objects were emphasized. The more abundant these objects, the more exciting the experience was envisioned. On the other hand, rural areas were associated with inactivity which would result in boredom. One student remarked (I): "They [urban students] like more action--that sort of thing. Nobody wants to be out in the forest doing nothing." Cities were associated with excitement, choice, and action. In addition, there was a strong desire to visit well-known tourist locations. Visiting the little known areas exuded minimal personal prestige. A few students suggested that a journey to a rural area would provide an opportunity to escape the hustle and bustle of urban life. However, the group preference was for an urban location.

Attitudes Toward Native People

Although the ranking item attributed about 11% of the decision not to participate to Native issues, the number and intensity of both the written and interview comments emphasized this aspect more emphatically. An attempt was made in the interview process to explore the basis for the students' attitudes towards Native people. As direct contact with Native people was extremely limited, the grounding for their attitudes came from other sources. Some students derived their stock of knowledge from family members. Reflecting this, one student commented (W): "Many Indians my dad knows are very hateful of white people, and can be very mean and destructive." Endeavouring to "take on more adult ways of thinking and communicating" (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967), some students became proponents of their parents' views on Native people. Some students endeavoured to conform to the stereotypes held by their adolescent group which meant that Native students who were defined as different from themselves could not be part of their group. For most students the media were the major cognizant sources for their ideas as signified by one student's contribution during an interview: "Indians are always the bad guys.

Yeah. The picture you usually get of them on T.V. and stuff. I think personally T.V. is one of the most influential things in our lives. Because people watch lots of T.V., they get some strange ideas in their heads." Many Western movies portray the vicious, treacherous Indian warriors attacking the innocent newcomers. In an article examining the role of visible minorities in the Canadian mass media, Head (1981) reflected on the fear of and lack of sympathy for Indian people. He reports Native people are viewed as invading, intruding, breaking "in upon the circle . . . a circle which includes all those whom the film has already certified as 'human'. The audience is left viewing the Indians from behind the sights of a repeater rifle" (p. 9). This is graphically portrayed below in an unsolicited sketch drawn by a student on his survey form.



The stylized Native person shown is being destroyed by the whiteman's liquor and bullets. The cowboy is carrying out the execution with a smile upon his face. This reveals the student's dehumanizing conception of Native people who are seen as objects. Since the Van students do not see Native people as being equally human, empathetic relationships are unlikely. Indeed, given their descriptions of Native people it is difficult to imagine their desire to initiate the process.

Other images of Native people centered on portraits from an imagined past. When asked what thoughts were conjured up with the mention of the word "Indian", one student replied: "They base it on like--they're animals or savages or something like that." This image of the "fierce savage" was emphasized in another student's explanation: "I don't want to get scalped!" Native culture historically, and in its present form, was envisioned as less valuable or worthy than other cultures. Another student demonstrated this belief when he explained: "Mexico is more like a civilized place. With the Indians you would be just be in one of their shacks."

Another stereotype that emerged from the students' depictions was that Native people were all alcoholics as evidenced in one student's concern: "They might drink up all our liquor if they stay at my house." This perception was often linked to a belief in the violent nature of Native people which would result in physical harm to others. One student related a discussion with her parents: "They said, 'yes'. But then they said: 'What if you are sleeping and the father of the other kid has been drinking, wakes you, and pulls you outside and rapes you or hurts you?" The Native person was pictured as attacking a defenceless individual and taking advantage of this person through physical means. According to this view, Native people do not discuss intelligently; they argue irrationally. Van students could not envision qualities of Native people which would provide a basis for friendship development. Real personal interaction was to be avoided.

Feelings of anxiety permeated many of the other students' comments as they reflected upon this and other images they had of Native people. Students viewed Native people as a threat in terms of what they "knew" about them and indeed by the "unknown". It was as if an invisible wall had been drawn around Native communities, a wall which Harold Cardinal (1969) has labeled the "Buckskin Curtain". Some students have looked at this curtain but have never ventured through as illustrated in the following conversation:

> Jill Not that I've lived with them or anything. But on holidays we've been to Indian reservations and just kind of--(laugh) on the the roads when we drove back. See what they look like--
>
> Don So it has been more in the sense of passing through a community while you were travelling?
>
> Jill Yeah. Not really talking to them or anything. Just being there for a couple of days. Just seeing the way they live and that.
>
> Don What sort of conclusions did you derive from that?
>
> Jill I don't know. I didn't really think about it. It didn't bother me. I didn't think of it as if I had to live with them, or anything like that. I never really though about it.

There was an effort to remain apart from, to view from a detached stance. The "seeing" was as an outsider looking at the life-world of Native people without being involved in it.

Students referred to the differences between themselves and Native people rather than common characteristics. They provided a "we-they" description. Similarly, Berryman et al. (1977) in a national Canadian survey, found that respondents ranked Native people as being very different from themselves. This thought process was depicted in the following interview excerpt:

> June I think just the way of life would be totally, totally different from what we live now.
>
> Don Can you give me any of your thoughts that might come to mind?
>
> June Umm.
>
> John Eating different foods.
>
> June Yeah. Eating different foods. Even different ways of eating (laugh). Dressing different. Acting different. Just I think almost everything!

Native culture was portrayed as alien from their own, so distant as to be unreachable in terms of understanding. This position regards Native people as outsiders, "as people who have no real place in the community" (Gardner & Kalin, 1981, p. 223). Through the process of stereotyping, the Native students were designated as members of an out-group. Their uniqueness or individuality as beings was not envisioned. Consequently, Native students were not considered as potential friends. This objectifying process is reflected in Philip's account in the book, Immigrants (Montero, 1977): "I ceased to be a real person, someone other people might say 'hello' to as they went past. I became much like the mops and the brooms I used. I was another cleaner. Just another Filipino cleaner" (pp. 220, 221). A stereotype freezes an individual in a static objectified position which does not allow him or her to be seen or related to as a being-in-becoming. La Roque (1975) illustrated this point when she wrote: "the present perspectives of Native people as simply Nature-lovers, Dirty Indians and Red Power militants prevents them from being seen for what they are--human beings" (p. 37).

Students anticipated that uncomfortable changes would have to be made in their own lifestyles if they participated in the exchange. This was not a process they were willing to undertake. "I like my free time", one student explained, "This would disrupt my social life. I would be committed to stay with the native Indians for one week and that would be a drag. I would not be able to do the things I like when around Indians" (W). It was assumed that the Vancouver students' interests would be different from the Native students'. This was encapsulated in one student's comment: "Indians aren't my kind of people" (W).

No desire was expressed to expand their horizons by gaining an understanding of Native culture. The students did not want to place themselves in situations in which dissonance could arise between their stereotypes and the actualities of interaction in the proposed exchange program. In addition, the students were hesitant to leave the security of the known, the familiar, in order to enter the world of the unknown, the Native community. Consequently, the Van students were unwilling to subjectively experience the life-worlds of Native students.

The Experience of Strangeness

Whether students discussed rural and urban differences, Native people, or the proposed exchange itself, a sense of strangeness permeated their viewpoints. In their discussions a number of individuals described the trauma that they associated with entering a new community. A sense of loneliness and a fear of the unknown arose when they encountered strangers. Endeavouring to re-present the students' feelings evoked in these experiences, I wrote the following description.

> Stretching before me runs a stark, dusty road. The dark browns and light greens of the trees fade into a distant grey haze. Looming in the distance approaches an undistinguishable figure. A spot of grey in a sea of grey. The distance decreases, but we are not closer. An outline forms with no details available to give me meaning, to make his form make sense. I cannot place him, nor can I conjure an image which will fill the spaces within the outline. Hesitantly, I take each step not knowing when the ground will touch my feet. Closer. Still I do not recognize him. Questions well from within: Where does he come from? What does he want on this road? Will he acknowledge me? Where is he going? As my questions run faster, so does the flow of my blood--alive like a mountain stream rushing over jagged rocks.
>
> His footsteps become louder, dominating my thoughts. Answers! I want answers--something I can hold on to. A heavy cushion of air keeps us apart, prevents us from touching. I feel cut off from all that surrounds me. Slowly his brown pants, plaid shirt, and ominous worn black boots come into focus. As the distance narrows, I capture a glimpse of a red patch on his right knee. Dare I peer up? I need to see his eyes to understand who he is. Flashing a momentary glance, I search his face for a familiar clue to form a link with. But something is out of place--jolts me. It is his dark skin which leaps out yet at the same time hides and protects him from my knowing eyes. My mind superimposes another image of a painted warrior on horseback charging in for the attack. The victim is me. Quickly I glance at the ground. Yet I want another look. Do I risk another glimpse?
>
> My eyes creep upward in stages from the black shoe, to the wide engraved belt, and then to the crumpled collar.

> Suddenly his eyes catch mine and hold me in his grip. Like bars these coal black eyes keep me out. But deep into my gut he wrestles. Somehow he knows me as he captures my being. Yet I cannot touch him. Fear wells within me: what do I say or do to break his grip? How do I talk to this unknown figure? What can I speak of which is common?
>
> Snap! His eyes break their hold. This moment of eternity is shattered. Freeing me, his eyes stare at some predetermined spot a fixed distance ahead of his heavy footsteps. We pass only having touched each other with our fears.
>
> Moments later I gain courage and crook my neck in time to glimpse a figure disappearing into an unknown setting. My heart beat returns to normal.

Wherein lies this sense of strangeness which envelops us with feelings of uncertainty, anxiety, and fears for our being? Even at an early age children experience this sensation. When a new person attempts to entertain a child with the shaking of a rattle, the child may recoil and shatter the world with his or her crying. On the other hand, the familiar image of the mother shaking the rattle invites the child to play. The mother's smile evokes recognition and warmth. The mother may respond to the "guest" by saying: "He's just making strange now. It's just one of those stages he is going through." From these childhood pre-reflective experiences emerges our sense of strangeness.

Tracing the origin of the word "strange", we find its most recent link with the French word estrange, which means foreign. In English the word estrange refers to alienating in feeling or to making unlike oneself. This sense of being different or apart from ourselves is linked to the Latin word extraneus which means something external or outside of us. A stranger being outside our group is someone with unknown ways who does not belong. He is extra-ordinary while our group members know what is ordinarily accepted as proper and right.

Permeating the earlier discription of meeting a stranger on a road was a sense of fear and insecurity associated with entering uncharted ground. This unfamiliar situation is represented by the "outline with no detail." To combat this feeling, the individual wants answers--something to "hold on to." These answers are what Schutz (1964) calls recipes--trustworthy ways for interpreting the social world and for subsequently acting in it. Thus, a number of students felt that knowledge "of" these recipes would lessen their anxieties by creating a more predictable environment; one under their control. For example, Jim outlined (I): "I think it's basically the unknown of what to expect. They don't know what their culture is like. I bet ya if they researched, understood their ways then more of them would have been willing to go." The students realized that entering the realm of these new "ways" or recipes as a stranger would challenge their own "thinking as usual". As they expected the Native students' ways to be very different from their own, they anticipated being unable to rely on their own passed down stock of knowledge. Previous solutions to problems would not be appropriate, and likewise their recipes for action and interpretation would not be accepted by the other group. They were afraid of becoming essentially like "the man who has to place in question nearly everything that seems to be unquestionable to the members of the approached group" (Schutz, 1964, p. 34).

There was an expectation that entering a new culture would result in being alone, cut off from others who operated with the same system of relevances. This feeling of [illegible]ation was described by Jim, one of the students interviewed, when he discussed his experiences in Australia: "The first couple of weeks you're kind of alone in the crowd off to the side. You don't know where to go, or who to turn to." The taken-for-grantedness of earlier life experiences is called into question. The issue becomes: to whom do you "turn to" in order to gain knowledge of the new system of relevances. While searching in this process, there is a feeling of being "out of place" which involves a sense of being caught outside our realm in an unfamiliar place. Lacking a sense of be-longing, a person longs to be part of, and to experience, the comfort of "being in place". When things are "in place", they are where they are expected to be just as friends can be counted on to be there when we need them. This sense of place is emphasized by Chisterton (1928): "What affects men sharply about a foreign nation is not so much the finding or not finding familiar things, it is rather not finding them in the familiar place." Interacting with our own in-group members is based on these particular parameters of certainty. The in-group's knowledge is meaning-ful while the out group's knowledge is meaning-less. This is exemplified by the Russian proverb: "The tears of strangers are only water." However, the tears of an in-group member demonstrate a common bond, a common history which for the in-group members has meaning. Interacting with strangers, or being a stranger in another group, engulfs us in a sea of uncertainty.

At the same time, the students were willing to visit another urban area where perceived familiarity would ensure a feeling of certainty. Urban anonymity provided a sense of security and comfort.

When discussing this topic in one interview, the following conversation ensued:

John For instance, right here in this room. It's small right? You go in the library; it's free. You're going to a bigger place. You'd feel free. Going to a small place you'll--

June Feel cooped up.

John That's right.

Don What would that cooped up stop you from doing?

John You'd be scared of doing anything. Even going to the washroom. You'd have to ask your teacher or somebody there, right? Where is it and which way to go, right? Down in the big city you know the areas. You'll ask. You won't be afraid to go.

"Feeling free" means being free not to make choices and decisions. Operating in your own territory you "know" what is expected, what rules are to be followed. The restricted sense of space in a rural area is not one of physical space, but the encircling pressure of having to make decisions about what has previously been taken for granted. In a rural community they considered themselves more open to view. On the other hand, one could move unnoticed in an urban environment. As one student pointed out: "Who is going to see you again?" This anonymity is not interpreted as an alienating experience, but one offering a sense of security.

Part of the students' apprehension over staying with Native people was a fear for their personal safety. Underlying this fear was the questioning of a stranger's motives as the Malaysian proverb points out: "To trust one's child is blindness in one eye, to trust a stranger is blindness in both." This sentiment is more tersely suggested in the English proverb: "Never trust a stranger." Trust implies that a person can be counted on to respond as expected. Schutz, however, points out that the stranger's system of relevances, that is, motivational concerns and his thematic relevances (recognition and definition of a problem), may be different. Therefore, his/her actions cannot be taken for granted. Instead, if the stranger is conceived negatively, as many students' conceptions of Native people portrayed, he/she may be imputed with threatening motives which lead to such acts as rape, murder, and assault. These interpretations of motives are part of the stereotypic pictures of out-group members. As Schutz (1964) points out, these stereotypes are consensual descriptions developed by those "who do not intend to establish direct social relationship with members of the foreign group" (p. 35). People are seen as objects of interpretation, not as possible individuals to engage in intersubjective dialogue. Stereotypes become mental barricades which keep people apart. We do not need interaction to support these stereotypes, nor does interaction necessarily make us question them.

As a collection of different relevances are imputed to an outside group, a "we-they" picture emerges. In this process differences are highlighted and similarities minimized in importance. According to Schutz, we enter a situation with biographies which have grown out of participation in our group. In-group interaction is based on the assumption that one can place oneself so as to see the other person's point of view (reciprocity of perspectives). For pragmatic purposes the biographic standpoints are assumed to be unimportant until proven otherwise. However, the greater the difference envisioned between two groups, the more difficult it is to assume that one's biography is similar to a member of the out-group. This means that another's actions are more open to question; judgments have to be made that within our own group we can take for granted. Longfellow in his poem "Haunted House" points out the effect of this biographical difference:

> The stranger at my fireside cannot see
> The forms I see, nor hear the sounds I hear:
> He but perceives what is; while unto me
> All that has been is visible and clear.

Based on their images of Native people, the students felt that they would not share common biographies from which to experience a mutality of intentionalities. Continually making judgments in the role of a stranger was considered unrewardingly frustrating.

As a result, an emphasis was placed on the normality of in-group members as reflected in the following conversation:

> Bill We've been living down here and we've got normal residential areas and nice houses and everything. It would be kind of a shock for people to go there and--
>
> Eric And we have to live in run down beat up old houses. But then it would be—I don't know. I don't know, but if they came down here, they'd kind of think it was better to live in better houses or better areas.

In-group membership is considered more valuable. This same attachment is exhibited when children can be heard to resolve arguments by saying: "My dad is better than your dad." A Lithuanian proverb reveals this same ethnocentric feeling: "A crust at home is better than the bread of a stranger." This strong ethnocentrism emphasizes group differences which provide an underlying viewpoint for the formation of stereotypes. With a strong "we" sense, individuals find it difficult to perceive themselves as being seen as foreigners by others as Emerson's reporting of the following incident illustrates: "An English lady on the Rhine hearing a German speaking of her party as foreigners, exclaimed: 'No, we are not foreigners. We are English; it is you that are foreigners."

When we designate people as strangers, we want to distance or separate ourselves from them. For example, traditionally, students with "strange" physical problems were separated from other students. Now we are "mainstreaming" these students. This means that these students are recognized as being part of our same stream of relevances which infers that they are more like us and consequently less strange. By contrast, critics have seen the formation of reserves as a means to lock people defined as an "out" group into a world separate from the mainstream.

As differences are accentuated, then it becomes more difficult to recognize common bonds of humanity with out-group members. Patus in the third century B.C. captured this feeling when he stated: "Man is not man, but a wolf, to those he does not know." This same perception is illustrated in one student's comments concerning the exchange: "When you go there, they're real strange and you don't know them at all. You don't know what to say to them. Like to talk to them or anything" (I). A talking "to", rather than "with" demonstrates a distance, a separation. Consequently, a genuine dialogue would be difficult to enter into.

This type of relationship is what Martin Buber refers to as an I-It relationship. In this situation people can be objectified or thingified which creates a dichotomous subject and object relationship. Because out-group members are considered objects, then no mutuality exists on which to base a common humanity. Unable to envision a Native person as a partner with whom to enter into genuine dialogue, the student cannot "affirm him as a person" (Buber, 1970). The totality of the person including his/her specific differences is not accepted. This acceptance is necessary for meaningful dialogue according to Buber. Seeing a Native person as an It, allows the individual to objectify him by forming a stereotype. Native people are thus stereotyped as lazy, violent, mean, and destructive. This de-humanizes a Native person as the label prevents him/her from being seen as an individual being. Instead, a Native person is prejudged on the basis of a definition characterizing the group. Subsequently, he/she is related to on this basis. A person thus becomes a category or object.

On the other hand, the students viewed their fellow students in a manner which reflects what Martin Buber calls the I-Thou relationship. In this relationship of subject with subject, there is "directness, intensity and ineffability" (Buber, 1965, p. 12). A friend as O'Banion and O'Connell (1970) note is "someone with whom we can share our private world, someone who can share this world with us" (p. 12). Students wanted to maintain their present friendships. They were willing to join camping trips or to travel to other communities if they were able to stay and interact with their own group members. The following conversation illustrates these expectations:

> Barb If you were on an exchange sort of thing, you'd be with--you'd probably be by yourself. You wouldn't be with a friend. You'd sort of feel, you know. You'd be there by yourself.

Don Uh huh.

Barb It's so different. You'd feel out of place.

Jill It's not like you get to stay in one house.

Don Right. Like you mean if you were to stay together in a gym or a hotel, that would be different? Is that what you are saying?

Jill Yeah! And then you'd be travelling around with all your friends.

Lacking friendship involvement, an exchange was perceived as an experience in being alone. Even though other people would be around, they would not be considered part of your inner circle. The Persian proverb: "It is better to be in chains with friends than in a garden with a stranger" extols this value of participating with one's group members where there is comfort in knowing and being known. While friends are characterized as "close", strangers are considered "stand-offish". We keep strangers "at arms length" so that they cannot become part of our world of being. When we use the expression: "You have become a stranger lately," we mean that there has been so little close personal interaction that we no longer know each other in a personal I-Thou relationship. As Native students were viewed as strangers, there was no expressed desire to form a new sense of togetherness, or oneness with them.

Another concern which is evident in the traditions of various cultures is the expressed need to entertain or host a stranger. This may at first seem contrary to what has been discussed. However, on closer examination, the relationship becomes more evident. For example, in Homer's Odyssey is recorded: "He counted it a shame that a stranger would stand long at the gates." In this case the prestige of the group is lowered as the host does not put his or her, and consequently, the group's " best side forward". The motive for interacting is to gain prestige from in-group members not to engage in meaningful dialogue with a stranger. Thus, the host is not expected to engage in reflection leading to change. Similarly, a few students were only willing to host a student as they recognized that a visitor or stranger would have to adapt to their patterns. They were unwilling to undergo this same process themselves.

Woven into the students' conversations, sometimes openly and at other times underlying their words, was a fear and a consequent unwillingness to place themselves in the role of a stranger. Likewise, they responded negatively to a stranger participating in their life-worlds. It was considered acceptable to view another person's life-world from a safe experiential distance as if viewing life on a television screen. However, to be engaged interpersonally in sharing the lived experiences of other individuals considered different from themselves called the taken-for-grantedness of their life into question. The students chose to avoid this threatening experience.

A few students sensed that if they were able to overcome their initial fears of engaging strangeness that other possibilities could evolve. For example, Lee referred to an experience where he met some Native people by emphasizing: "Some people think: 'Oh no. Here comes trouble!' But once you get to know them, they're okay friends." However, the proposed exchange program was unable to encourage students to take this knowing step into the life-world of the Native student.

Non-Participants' Approach to an Exchange Experience: Traveller or Tourist?

As was outlined in the previous section, the perceived threat of entering a strange experience prevented many students from participating in the proposed exchange. By describing what they wished to avoid and what they saw as attractive alternatives, the students tell the listener what an exchange means for them. In this process a number of questions arose: What is the nature of the experiences of a tourist and a traveller? How do these experiences relate to that of a stranger? Through this exploration how is the understanding of an exchange experience expanded?

Before undertaking a further exploration, the etymology of the two words "tourist" and "traveller" will be discussed. The word traveller comes from the same root as travail in French which means "to work at, to have trouble with". There is, therefore, an active involvement as a person moves from one location to another learning through his experiences. A traveller does not only observe but participates in a journey. The African proverb: "Much travelling teaches how to see" emphasizes the growing understanding on this voyage. The word "tour-ist" comes from the Latin word tornus which means "circle". Tourists move from their point of origin but return again to this same point. Change is not a necessary part of this movement. During the early seventeenth century, the young English aristocrats took part in what was called the Grand Tour, a type of finishing school in which one became familiar with the ways of the world (Pearce, 1982). Critics such as Adam Smith (1775) challenged the value of these tours by stating that tour members return "more conceited, more unprincipled . . . and more incapable of any serious application to study or business" (cited in Pearce, 1982, p. 56). With the advent of organized tours, inexpensive and efficient transportation, and wider affluence, tourism has become a growing part of our lives (Cohen, 1972). Pinlott underscores this point by commenting: "in the present century holidays have become a cult. . . . For many they are the principal objects for life--saved and planned for during the rest of the year and enjoyed in retrospect when they are over" (cited in Pearce, 1982, p. 57).

When comparing the experiences of the tourist and the traveler, it is evident that the traveller "works" at his experience while the tourist seeks to "avoid work". As such, being a tourist is not work but re-creation. Play relaxes and restores energy enabling a person to return home refreshed from his/her holiday. Originally, the term "holiday" meant a "religious or holy day celebrated in a person's home community" while a "vacation" was the "vacating of a craftsman's home when he went to work" (Graburn, 1977). Now both vacation and holiday are the tourist's terms for pleasure travel.

In this process of moving, the tourist seeks gratification of his/her personal pleasure wants. This is reflected in the following exerpt from one interview:

> Eric Trip sort of means you're going somewhere--like going on a camping trip. That sounds like fun. Trip sort of sounds better than an exchange.

Bill Like an exchange with a school or something, you're there to learn about how the people live and how they act and stuff. A trip's just to go there for enjoyment. Like just to fool around. Do what you want--

Don So would people be more interested in trips than exchanges is that what you're--

Eric Oh yeah!

In this search for pleasure the tourist emphasizes the variety of movement and attractions. The amenities and facilities of his temporary destinations are a topic of conversation (Cohen, 1978). In the case of the traveller, pleasure may be part of the process, but his/her emphasis is more on the search for understanding and the development of personal growth.

During this journey, a traveller becomes a new inhabitant or stranger in a setting where he/she sees, experiences, and reflects. As McHugh et al. (1974) assert, "He seeks in the looking " (p. 141). On the other hand, the tourist emphasizes the passive act of observing as Eric's commments point out: "I'd really like to go there [Japan] because you could go up in the mountains and see all the farmers working taking down all the Mandarin oranges" (I). It is the looking at the "objects", the farmer and the oranges, not the experiencing with other beings that is stressed. In this image of a trip, the tourist describes his/her experiences with respect to their "thingness". This is represented in descriptions of "sight-seeing" experiences. Students emphasized that the visiting of "famous" sights and their objective representation in the form of souvenirs were important for enhancing their self-esteem when returning home. Attractions are sought for their exoticness which can then be observed from a safe psychological distance. In his/her passive role a tourist "expects things to happen to him" (Boorstin, 1962, p. 99). The essence of a trip becomes what is noticed in a non-participatory sense. This process is encapsulated by McHugh et al. (1974) as "looking without seeing" (p. 141). Thus, there is observation without a real search for understanding.

While the traveller is committed to explication and grounding, the tourist interprets a holiday trip as an opportunity to avoid commitment and responsibility. One student's comparison of an exchange and trip brings this difference to the fore: "If you're just going on a trip, you're just going to observe stuff. You don't have to do what they're doing like staying there. . . . It's your choice." The tourist chooses to be in a situation but not to develop a sense of belonging. This experience becomes insular. Rather than peering out of a window, individuals look at a mirror and only see themselves. In the existential sense of "staying" or "being", the traveller as stranger seeks meaning in "the possibility of relationship as the responsibile re-creation of what we see" (McHugh et al., 1974, pp. 139, 140). However, a tourist sees objects as representations of what he/she has seen and thus collects souvenirs. Like the bumper sticker: "I've Seen Old Faithful!", souvenirs tell others we have "been" somewhere but not that the "beingness" of the experience has changed us in any way.

Some students described a trip as a way to "get away from it all". This is a retreat from pressures, responsibilities, and commitments, not a search for involvement. For a tourist this getting away does not mean entering into relationships with members of the host community. Instead, separation and distance are sought in these interactions. Relationships outside the group do not provide meaning. For example, the students were willing to be involved with other individuals in sight-seeing events and other activities, but they wanted these individuals to be existing friends. Only one student mentioned the objective of gaining new friends. This was delivered in a sarcastic manner: "In Ottawa you'd see the House of Commons or something. But in the Indian things what do I have to look forward to? Making a friend?" Likewise, organized tours keep the tourist from having contact with local people. This means fellow shipmates now "replace the natives as a source of adventure" (Boorstin, 1962, p. 92).

In this area of interpersonal relations, the students recognize that an exchange experience would take them out of the role of the tourist and into that of the traveller as stranger. This involves entering into new relationships. While they were willing to venture into new geographic locations, they were unwilling to become strangers in new social situations. Bill substantiates this viewpoint when he describes his fellow classmates as being "shy of meeting new people and staying with strangers. Otherwise, if they were in a hotel they'd probably want to go." The hotel provides a refuge, a place where life is not open to question. A person can be what he/she was rather than grappling with the question: What will I become? In this respect the students realize that the tourist role would be inappropriate within the intersubjective relationships of the exchange experience.

Initially, in the role of the stranger, there is a continual search for new meanings which would in turn involve self-examination.

As with other tourists, the students expressed a low tolerance for interaction with other individuals with different cultural frames of reference. This approach is summarized in one of the student's comments: "The whole thing is to be in some place where it is different so you learn something new. But people would be more interested in going if it was some place more like their own so they'd feel more comfortable, and they wouldn't have to worry" (I).

Being comfortable necessitates carrying your own ecological bubble (Cohen, 1972) so that you feel psychologically safe being physically "in a foreign place but socially outside the culture" (Smith, 1977, p. 6). The students did not want their system of relevances challenged. On the other hand, strange physical attractions, i.e. tourist sights, could be dealt with as they do not require intersubjective relationships.

Reflecting this need for an ecological bubble, students expressed a dislike for anticipated physical conditions on reserves. This same orientation to physical things is exhibited as tourists rush from one Hilton to the next:

> Enchanted by the view of God's handiwork through the panes of the air-conditioned buses or porthole, they worship "plumbing that works" and safe water and food. The connection with the unfamiliar is likely to be purely visual, and filtered through sunglasses and a camera viewfinder. (Graburn, 1977, p. 31)

Likewise, tourists treat their hosts as objects in their efforts to retain their own frame of reference and to maintain a social distance. Lacking the constraints of personal involvement, tourists feel freer to favor their own self-interests (Nash, 1977). In this process stereotypic caricatures are created such as that of the shop owner who is out to maliciously "rip the tourist off". Similarly, the students developed stereotypes of Native people. Once individuals are defined as objects or categories, then interactions become instrumental with few affective ties developing. As a consumer, the tourist sees the satisfaction of his/her leisure and pleasure needs as paramount. Thus, the need for social contacts outside his/her group is not considered important. Turner and Ash conclude: "Getting full open understanding between tourists and their hosts is as difficult as getting tolerance within a racially prejudiced relationship" (1975, p. 245). Students sensed that an exchange would mean changing their frame of reference and would force them to interact with individuals in the role of a stranger. The students were unwilling to risk these changes.

While a stranger recognizes this need for change and tries to adapt, a tourist only has the illusion of change in his/her movement from one place to another. In this process the tourist adds a list of objects to his/her menu of things "done" as tourists can be heard to say: "We've done the London Museum today. Tomorrow we do Buckingham Palace." This doing or observing does not foster reflection on that which grounds the meaning of these attractions either for the given society or in relationship to the individual's personal meaning structure. Tourists are interested in experiencing but not changing (Nash, 1977). An experience in and of itself is not meaning-ful. We fill the experience with meaning by reflecting upon that which we have experienced. In the eight century B.C. Horace recognized that movement itself does not mean a change or growth when he wrote: "They change their climate, not their soul who rush across the sea" (Epistles, 206, 1.10). The students recognize that an exchange would challenge their resistance to engaging in real change and to making commitments. In so doing, demands would be made on their personal resources of time and energy as one student's written comment demonstrates:

> On an exchange you have to be more understanding and polite. . . . You have to do things you might not want to do. On a trip you can do what you want to do because you're not there to obey or anything. On an exchange you've got to be nice to those people. When they come down, you have to give up some of your time.

This student anticipates that accommodation and adaptation would be necessary in an exchange situation. Self-centered goals would not be as predominant as in the role of a tourist.

While the traveller as stranger adapts, the tourist expects the host culture to change to meet his needs. This is portrayed in a stanza from Joni Mitchell's song, "Big Yellow Taxi", which was inspired by her experiences in Hawaii:

> They paved paradise
> And they put up a parking lot,
> With a pink hotel, a boutique
> And a swinging hot-spot.
> Don't it always seem to go
> That you don't know what you've got
> Till it's gone.

While seemingly in search of the exotic, the tourist destroys what he sought in order to create a world like he left behind. By contrast, the traveller is concerned with both the authenticity of relations and representations of cultural activities. This is not crucial to tourists as they are satisfied with pseudo-events which give them illusions of adventure with the minimum of risk. Disneyland is the epitomy of this perception. Here contrived, indirect experiences are constructed for the consumer. For example, on a simulated jungle safari mechanical elephants screech while plastic alligators snap dangerously close to the side of the boat. Thrills and excitement are produced, but no meaningful change is desired or expected. The tourist according to Boorstin (1962):

> expects that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order: that a nearby vacation spot can give Old World charm, and also that if he chooses the right accommodations he can have the comforts of home in the heart of Africa. Having paid for it, he demands that it be supplied to him. Having paid for it, he likes to think he has got his money's worth. (p. 80)

Unlike strangers, tourists and the students of Van School were not willing take risks. They wanted their experiences insured. Since tourist travel is to anywhere, the specific location is irrelevant as long as it meets tourists' pleasure and recreational needs. Tourists may describe a location "as nice to visit but I sure wouldn't want to live there." Thus, tourist existence is not a living in, but "a refusal to join" (McHugh et al., 1974, p. 147).

With McHugh's characterization of a tourist as one who refuses to join, we have come full circle back to the question: Why did the students in this study not want to participate in the proposed exchange program? From their characterization of themselves and their descriptions of the type of travelling experience that they have, and would enjoy, the students see themselves as tourists. From this perspective they seek pleasure through a passive seeing which emphasizes sights and people as objects. This is currently illustrated by an Albertan tourist slogan: "Smile, you're a tourist attraction!" While observing from a safe social distance, the tourist emphasizes the satisfying of his/her own personal comforts. Movement gives the illusion of change. However, meaningful reflection and change are avoided by the tourist. Commitment, responsibility, and belonging are for the home environment but not for the community visited.

Engaging in an exchange experience means participating in the role of a traveller as stranger. Consequently, the students' definition of themselves as tourists was challenged. Indeed, a questioning of their very grounding was a possibility. The students repeatedly labelled this involvement as "scary" which characterizes an experience which leaves one frightened or startled. This jolt or startle arises out of interaction with other persons as beings, not objects. Confronted with different biographies and systems of relevances, the stranger or exchange participant is constantly searching to create meaning while experiencing a new situation. It is not the physical movement itself which demands change but the interplay of human interactions and ideas. Because change is real and not illusory, risk is involved. What will happen next? What is the other person thinking? Am I making the right decision? Involvement, risk, reflection, and commitment are the antithesis of the tourist orientation.

Students recognized that an exchange involves a "living in" or active participation. As one student expressed: "On an exchange you'd be doing the things that the people do." In order to "do" these things, a person needs to reflect on the meaning of the situation and relate this to his or her own meaning system. In the doing new meaning can arise. Students interpreted this change at various levels. For most students learning was "about" other people's ways of living. A few students placed more emphasis on the experiencing of these ways. There was an expected reciprocity of sharing and learning as one student defined an exchange as entering "into another community finding out the different ways of doing things and then bringing people back and showing them our ways." However, this reciprocity meant gaining knowledge of group differences not similarities. There was not an expressed search for common bonds of humanity in their visualization of an exchange.

For the students an exchange experience was portrayed as a reciprocal opening and a subjective experiential sharing of different life-worlds. The underlying potential for meaningful questioning, reflection, and change was considered threatening to their very being. An exchange was a journey in which they were unwilling to engage.

The Non-Participant Exchange Student Ideal Type

Based on the preceding analysis, a Schutzian non-participant exchange student ideal type will be constructed. First, the non-participant perceives and acts upon the social typifications and relevances of his social group. In this process the members of the group develop a sense of "we-ness". This membership provides access to recipes for typical social action. At the same time the in-group provides stereotypic views of the out-group members who are not viewed as individuals but caricatures. Underlying this view is the perception that out-group members cannot be in a situation of reciprocity of relevances or motives with one's own group members. An out-group member is portrayed as operating from a very different biographic base. Differences between groups are stressed rather than common bonds which unite humanity. Non-participants give expression to this by their unwillingness to conceive of the out-group members as possible friends. Only the in-group members belong in their sphere of friendship. The non-participant's concept of "we" is restricted to their particular group members.

Interaction with members of the out-group is viewed negatively and approached with apprehension. Non-participants do not want their taken-for-grantedness in relevances and typifications questioned by members from a different group, nor do they want to be placed in situations which require them to question their own typifications. They do not desire to feel "out of place". Being "in place" provides security and life unfolds in an expected pattern. On the other hand, being "out of place" is the perceived role of the stranger. In this role the environment is viewed as "a problematic situation itself and one hard to master" (Schutz, 1964, p. 93).

By avoiding involvement in intersubjective experiences with other individuals from an out-group, one is not placed in the role of a stranger. Further, the greater the perceived differences in relevances and typifications with the out-group, then the less likely is one to participate in social interaction with the out-group members. Thus, the non-participant is willing to engage in objective outsider contact in new social situations but withdraws when subjective interaction is required. Since the non-participants envisioned a cross-cultural exchange program as a threating social situation, they decided not to involve themselves in the role of a stranger.

Personal Reflections

While dealing with the turmoil surrounding the attempted establishment of a Native, non-Native exchange program, I re-membered a poem written by Cindy Dumanski, a grade seven student (Multiculturalism Guidance Center, 1980, p. 4):

Is There Really a Difference

Is there really a difference my skin is brown?
Is there really a difference I'm not from your town?
Is there really a difference about the way that I'm dressed?
But when they all tease me I just get depressed.

Is there really a difference about the food that I eat?
Or the color of my hair, or what I wear on my feet?
How do you do it, I'd really like to know,
You judge a book by its cover and not by its soul?
For the hatred I find in the back of my mind.
It is a feeling that I have not yet defined.

Is there really a difference, black, white or brown?
When our feelings are hurt there's not a smile but a frown?
For you are you and I am I.
You are prejudiced, please tell me why?

Like Cindy, the label of "prejudice" surfaced in my mind as I studied the statistics and the written comments. The students seemed to be answering "yes" to each of the questions raised by Cindy in her poem. As the various stereotypic images of Native people glared out from the written responses, I began to attribute the lack of participation in the exchange to the students' prejudiced attitudes. This process provided a label but did not expand my understanding of their viewpoint nor of the meaning of an exchange experience. When I became engaged in discussions with living, thinking beings, I was abruptly aware that I had conjured up an image of a prejudiced person which was simplistic and negativistic. Subconsciously drawing on textbook accounts, I was envisioning the prejudiced student as a closed-minded person for whom the prejudiced feelings filled some need. Was I in my frustration engrossed in the same process of prejudice by which I characterized the students? As I found the students in the interviews warm, likeable individuals, my original portrayal was called into question. Once this first layer was uncovered further re-searching revealed that the students were grappling with fundamental issues in their lives such as dealing with change and forming friendships. While I could distance myself from statistics and even the written word, interpersonal dialogue jolted my process of reflection.

While the concept of prejudice did not adequately describe the feelings or thoughts of the students, the experience of strangeness began to offer more potential for understanding the situation. In the literature, authors (Hanvey, 1977; Herbert, 1976) often refer to the openness of youth to new experiences. Similarly, in my previous personal experiences with exchange programs, I had interacted with individuals who were willing to place themselves in the role of a stranger. In these experiences, I was a pedagogue enticing and pointing students to meaningful learning adventures. In this new situation I felt frustrated standing on the sidelines.

As only a small percentage of students in our schools participate in exchange programs, the students in this study may represent the unwillingness of the majority of students to engage in the role of a stranger. In a broader sense, if meaningful learning involves a disposition to place oneself in new situations and in turn a willingness to change, then many of these students exhibited a desire to avoid these circumstances. In a pedagogical sense the question becomes: How do we as educators encourage students to engage in learning adventures in strange worlds?

In their learning experiences the students expressed a desire to be tourists rather than travellers as strangers. This makes me question the value and impact of our social studies programs. Too often students are encouraged to be tourists by learning "about" a country's products, by studying the "different" customs of a country, and by focussing on the objective statistics of people's lives. Little attention is focussed on the subjective realities of individuals. I wondered: What learning experiences in social studies program would foster a movement from the tourist role to that of the stranger?

In a broader sense the metaphor of the student as tourist seemed to apply to many aspects of our educational environment as images of our schools appeared in my mind-- bells ringing systematically to signal what pre-organized activity happens to the tour members; a tour guide with each group dispensing knowledge of the outside world; and students like tour members waiting in the bus seat ready to be driven to the next tourist point of learning. Are we as teachers ready to take risks by engaging in the role of the traveller as stranger?

When students referred to their concept of an exchange program, differences between groups were emphasized. A search for the common bonds of humanity which result in a sharing and a coming together was not part of their interpretation of this experience. The degree of distancing was so enormous that I was left with a feeling of emptiness.

However, meaningful dialogue during the interviews rejuvenated my hopes. Genuine dialogue seems to exemplify an exchange experience. I want to expand the opportunities to foster this exchange. In the interviews students appeared willing to share their thoughts and feelings in other areas of their lives as well. I became more aware that students have so few opportunities to engage in dialogue with educators who actively listen. Educators talk "about" students and "to" students but only rarely "with" students. Our school system seems unwilling to provide an environment and opportunities for students to become themselves, to become adults.

Involvement in this research study to this point has emphasized the value of combining different research approaches in order to gain a fuller understanding of an experience. The uncovering of successive layers of meaning brings me closer to the essential nature of the experience. With new knowledge comes responsibility and in turn commitment. To what new commitments does this research lead me?

Chapter Vll

A STUDY OF AN EXCHANGE AS LIVED

Overview: B.C. School and Ecole St. Jean Exchange Program

> Noon hour group meeting: As I entered the room, students were chatting amongst themselves as they frantically munched on their lunches. Jack, the teacher/co-ordinator, called the group together: "We have a lot to accomplish today so let's get started. Remember the car wash starts at 10:00 o'clock sharp on Saturday!" Jack emphasized. "Try to get as many pledges before then as you can."
>
> From the back of the room a student interjected: "What if it rains?"
>
> "It'll be a regular washout!" retorted Jack. "Make sure you bring back your raffle tickets by next Tuesday." One student responded that he had lost his tickets. "It's your responsibility", Jack replied, "we need the funds." Jack then reminded the students of their regular Thursday after school French class.

Preparation for the exchange program demanded high energy and commitment from both the students and the co-ordinators. Three months prior to the exchange, Jack initiated contact with Ecole St. Jean in Quebec. While B.C. School is located in a suburb of a large urban area, Ecole St. Jean is part of a mining community which serves the needs of its surrounding rural district. Sponsorship eventually was forthcoming from Open House Canada to cover the transportation costs of the program. Arrangements were then made for the Quebec students to spend the first portion of the exchange in British Columbia. During their stay, each Quebec student was billeted with his/her respective pen pal and family. For six days the students were engaged in a variety of tours, social activities, and independent activities.

The Quebec students then returned to their own community. One week later the B.C. students flew to Quebec where they spent six days similarly involved in a variety of activities with their hosts. On their return trip, the B.C. students spent two days in Montreal with their own group members. The exchange activities themselves will be described in the chapters to follow.

The process by which the twenty-five B.C. students were selected is pertinent to a discussion of an exchange experience. One criterion utilized was academic standing. Jack outlined part of this process: "We start out looking at grades. We suggest that they have fairly good academic standing so they can miss two weeks of school without losing their whole year." Specific attention was focussed on their French marks. In order to participate the students had to be enrolled in a grade nine or ten French class. The French teacher/co-ordinator on the exchange, Elise, emphasized the prerequisite importance of an ability to get along in a group. This was confirmed by Jack: "You have twenty-five kids who look great on paper, but they've got to be able to get along. So you've got to look for personality clashes and differences, and you've got to balance your group." In addition, students were rated on their dependability, behavioural conduct, independent judgment, and adaptability. Subsequently, the applicant list was circulated among the rest of the school staff who then commented on the students' academic situations and their ability to get along within a group.

In addition to the qualities outlined above, the students could be characterized in a number of other ways. For example, they were more willing than the Van School students to take risks and to place themselves in the role of a stranger:

> I was sort of scared because you've never seen the person before and it's like a (total) stranger. But I decided to go [on the Native exchange] because it would be an exciting experience for me to see another part of our country and to probably become best friends with my billet. (B.C. student's response on Survey B)

This excerpt illustrates the B.C. students' willingness and desire to engage in an adventure both in new physical settings and with other unknown individuals. While these students were selected to represent the school in the exchange program, their characteristics may not have been representative of the larger student body.

Following this selection process, the teachers matched the B.C. students with the Quebec students who had previously supplied their biographic information. The biographies included such topics as allergies, family size, interests, hobbies, and sports. As Elise outlined, the intent was to "fit some interests because that was kind of a starting point and then they could branch out from there." Underlying this comment was a search for a common base from which friendship could grow.

Due to the lack of time prior to the exchange itself, each student was able to exchange only one letter. Based on the information displayed in their billets' letters, the B.C. students completed the statement: "My billet is" (Appendix F) with as many phrases as they wished. Even though limited information was provided in the Quebec students' letters, all the B.C. students characterized their exchange partners in a positive manner with such words as "likeable" and "considerate".

From one meeting to another, the air of excited anticipation grew. At one session a student proclaimed: "I can't wait to see what my billet is really like!" In the following chapters, I will endeavour to re-capture the sense of this experience and to uncover its meaning.

Biographic Approach

Introduction

Before investigating the exchange itself, the biographic approach will be employed to focus on the life-world of Tom, a fifteen year old B.C. exchange participant. Tom volunteered to share his thoughts during a series of interviews conducted prior to the exchange itself, after the Quebec student visit to Vancouver, and following the Quebec portion of the exchange. A similar series of interviews was conducted with Ann, another B.C. exchange participant, whose experiences and reflections will be drawn upon in succeeding chapters.

In choosing to highlight one student's experiences through the biographic approach, I utilized Berk's (1980) definition of the biographic approach: "a selection of incidents from a life arranged and linked with respect to an outcome" (p. 94). Since the outcome in this study is the experience of exchange itself, the reconstruction of Tom's biography was linked to this event. As Werner and Rothe (1979) indicate, an individual's biography is "a variable in the meaning he attempts to grasp because of his preunderstanding which he brings to the situation" (p. 108). In the interview process I assisted Tom in "recalling the past from the past into the present" (Pinar, 1978, p.

164). This involved more than a sense of duplicating or re-telling the past as the past was being unfolded through Tom's framework of his here and now.

The interview process was like starting a stone rolling; "you sit quietly on the top of a hill and away it goes, starting others" (Robert Louis Stevenson, cited in Brady, 1976, p. 49). The intent in this process was for us to mutually share in the understanding of Tom's treasure house of experiences and meanings. Endeavouring to establish an atmosphere in which Tom felt comfortable expressing himself, I initially stressed questions which would build trust, rather than create a threatening mood. The posing of open-ended questions such as: Can you describe some of your favorite places? and Do you have any concerns regarding the exchange program? expressed confidence in the worthwhileness of his anticipated responses. The very act of being there with Tom demonstrated my interest in his views which provided a basis for the development of trust. Our English word "trust" comes from the German word trost which means "hope". Thus, a trusting relationship is based on a confident hope that the other being cares for my well-being. The other person can be relied upon. For example, Tom displayed this reciprocal trust during one meeting when we were discussing the group planning sessions. After peering around the room to see if anyone else had entered, he explained: "I had better watch what I say--but the planning meetings were real boring! They could have printed out what they were going to say and just handed it out!"

Another important element in this trust building process was assisting Tom to accept his opinions as valid. This was deemed necessary as previous role definitions in schools have placed the power of knowing in the hands of the teacher as adult. Tom soon realized that I did not approach our meetings seeking predetermined answers. When he understood that I was open to hearing his ideas, Tom became more willing to open his life in trust and to express his personal thoughts. At the same time as an interviewer, I did exercise direction in the very pointing of a question. As the sessions developed, my questions became more probing as Tom realized that I was endeavouring to clarify rather than "question" his ideas.

Within this power of the question was the issue of deciding when to appropriately cease probing. I found myself continually reading non-verbal gestures and voice inflections in dealing with this issue. I endeavoured to act with tact by which I mean "a particular sensitivity and sensitiveness to situations" (Gadamer, 1982, p. 16). Thus, at times, situations were left unspoken but not unrecognized to avoid "the offensive, the intrusive, the violation of the intimate sphere of person" (Gadamer, 1982, p. 17).

In this interaction with Tom, I attempted to sensitize my being-in-the-world so as to become a "highly tuned receptor for the lived experiences" of another being-in-the-world (Suransky, 1980, p. 372). This process was not without its moments of doubt, tension, or confusion. For example, unknown to me initally, Tom was orignally concerned by his supposition that my doctorate program was in psychology. This was intimated in his comment during our first dialogue: "Sometimes if people have the same likes you get along.

But sometimes if they're a little bit different, well I shouldn't be telling you that." At that point in the conversation, I was unaware of what was behind this statement. At the beginning of the next interview, Tom asked about my academic program. When he understood that it was in the area of social studies and curriculum, he expressed relief: "Well that makes a big difference!" Tom felt that his personal opinions would be more valid, less open to question given this situation. Rich, in his book, Interviewing Children and Adolescents (1968), emphasized the effect that an individual's perception of an interviewer has on what he/she is willing to reveal.

At the same time, the face-to-face nature of the interview situation permits an ongoing validation process based not only on what is said but also on the clues that surround the delivery of the words themselves (Selltiz et al., 1966, p. 17). Consequently, further ongoing questions were expressed in the dialogical process within each interview to assist Tom to clarify and expand his responses. After each taped interview was transcribed, recorded, and analyzed for clusters of meanings (Sample interview, Appendix I), a series of questions was developed for the succeeding interview to validate my analysis and to expand particular topics with Tom. Further discussions were held with three teachers to discuss Tom and his life-world.

The next section utilizes this myriad of experiential datum to respond to the following questions: What drew Tom to the exchange program? What were his concerns prior to the exchange? How did Tom envision an exchange program prior to his experiencing of it? An examination of these questions lays the foundation for a subsequent interpretation of Tom's meaning of the exchange as experienced.

Tom's Life-world

Introduction

(telephone conversation after initial introduction)

Don Where do you think we would be able to meet?

Tom We could use the room off the Social Studies room. The one they use for the audio visual stuff. Oh, you asked about the film.

Don Right.

Tom I'll need 64 ASA for my 35mm camera.

(opening of initial session)

Don Would it be all right if I taped our conversation?

Tom What if I say something stupid?

Don Maybe I should explain more fully. I'm interested in what people think of their experiences--what meaning the experience has for them.

Tom You mean psychological?

Don More of a description of their experiences before and after the exchange.

These excerpts from introductory encounters permit a glimpse into Tom's life-world. During the interviews, I was impressed with his ability to organize and to make decisions as our telephone conversation illustrates. He displayed a confidence and competence in a number of areas in his life in addition to photography. Throughout our discussions Tom demonstrated sincerity, intensity, and commitment whether it concerned school work or the exchange itself. In the milieu of the school, teachers viewed him as a "model student", academically successful and responsive to the school's goals.

The second quotation from our initial dialogue suggests other aspects of Tom's character. Tom's fear of saying "something stupid" conveys his desire to maintain a positive image in situations with other individuals and the public. However, as our conversations unfolded Tom was able to express himself with increased openness. For example, he was eventually able to discuss his growing need for friendship.

A Drawing to the Exchange Program

Evolving out of our discussions was the question: What drew Tom into the exchange program? By utilizing the biographic approach, it is possible to situate Tom "in a historical context from which his intentionalites and stock of knowledge are grounded" (Werner, 1977, p. 78) In this respect, Tom re-called a grade five experience in which students from his Vancouver Island class spent two days touring and living with Vancouver students and vice versa. Describing this experience, Tom exclaimed: "I was really surprised how friendly we became so soon. Boy! Really missed them! Almost cried. Well I did!" As part of his stock of knowledge, this previous but still reverberating positive experience drew Tom to the exchange with the expectation of a similar subjective interpersonal interaction.

At the same time other considerations appeared to weigh more heavily in his coming to the exchange program. One such factor was his interest in flying as reflected in his involvement in air cadets.

Tom's career goal or "project" in Schutzian terms is to become an air pilot. He has been engaged in very conscious acts to fulfill this goal. For example, for the summer following the exchange, Tom indicated that he had enrolled in a course to "study the technical parts of an airplane like the parts of the landing gear . . . the hydraulics and the rest of the aircraft system." In turn, this is part of his strategy to be selected as a trainee in the Canadian Forces pilot training program. On completion of high school, Tom plans to attend a military college to further this flying ambition. Tom remarked that his flying interest "all kind of links back to my wanting to go to Quebec by air." This process illustrates Tom's planned, analytical thinking which led him to the exchange.

This same planning and preparing to meet future goals is demonstrated in the role played by Tom's desire to become fluent in French. Bilingualism was conceived as enhancing the attainment of his project of becoming a pilot. Although he is now a grade nine student, Tom is in grade ten French because of his previous elementary French classes. At first Tom was hesitant to speak out in class as he was afraid others would laugh at him. However, now relative to the other students in grade nine French, Tom feels he has more of an opportunity to converse orally in French. Developing an ability in French has offered a welcomed challenge to him. This is reflected in his following statement: "In grade ten you learn the past tense. It's a lot more complicated. And writing--how to shorten instead of saying, 'est-ce que vous parlez français?', you say, 'parlez-vous français?" This challenge has resulted in a sense of accomplishment for Tom. For example, with pride in his voice he commented on the letter exchange with his billet by saying: "I wrote mine in French because I'm in grade ten French!" According to Tom, the French taught in school is often very formal. He laughed when he cited the following translated example: "Hope to meet you again someday my good friend." However, he anticipated that the exchange program would provide lived examples of the French language. While anticipating difficulties understanding vocabulary, slang expressions, pronunciation, and delivery speed, Tom felt his skills would improve measurably during the exchange experience. Thus, Tom was drawn to the exchange as it offered an opportunity to test his present ability in French and in turn to improve his fluency.

Underlying this intention to improve his French was his broader goal of expanding his own knowledge base. This knowledge growth was primarily based in the empirical technical mode (Aoki, 1978b) in which knowledge provides predictive powers and control. Just as Tom desired to "test" his French ability, he wanted to explore his other capabilities. When discussing the exchange, Tom speculated: "I'd like to ask them some things to get into the technical stuff and how he feels. Just like the stuff you're asking me almost. Just to get an idea because I want to learn all I can." Tom searches for answers to the question "why" in his daily life. The exchange program was viewed as a means to extend this process. At the same time, Tom had some doubts as to the depth to which he would be able to probe in the exchange because of his, and his billet's, limited ability in the other's language. While realizing this limitation, Tom still felt an exchange offered a testing ground for his present knowledge and an avenue for further knowledge growth.

Tom considers the school system itself as a prime source of this knowledge. Through his years of schooling, Tom described himself as adapting to the requirements of the school system. During elementary grades Tom reported that he "goofed around a lot . . . and still got pretty good marks." In junior high he expended more energy to obtain high marks. Referring to his recent report card, Tom noted: "My marks are the highest ever in my history of school." For the past two years, he has been on the school honor list. The success criteria employed by the school and the authority of teachers is accepted and valued by Tom. This is reflected in his comment: "I would like to see a school where there is no vandalism and everybody's just there to work." While holding this stance, Tom postulates that his success in terms of the school's criteria leads him to view the system in a more positive light than some other students who are not as successful. In turn, Tom was trusted by the school staff as I observed in one situation in which a teacher loaned him a set of keys to obtain some material. Tom values this acceptance and the rewards that the school system offers him. Likewise, Tom feels that the knowledge the school system promotes better enables him presently, and in the future, to exercise control in his life. Since the school system deems an exchange program as valuable for the academically successful, Tom was attracted to the program.

As has become evident, Tom's decision to become involved in the exchange program was rooted in various aspects of his life-world. It was not an arbitary decision but one based primarily on his stock of knowledge gained in a previous experience in an exchange, his project goal to become an airplane pilot, his interest in developing a fluency in French, and his desire to expand his empirical knowledge base. In this process his "biography and his choosing among various interests jointly determine which elements of the [exchange] situation" (Heeren, 1970, p. 47) will be of relevance.

Exchange Concerns

While Tom approached the exchange with a sense of confidence, he had some concerns about the exchange process. One such concern was that the proper image be displayed by himself, other individuals in the group, and the program in total. The concept of image surfaces in a number of areas of Tom's life. For example, he disapproved of fraternizing with students who smoked or drank. At school he identified the jean jacket crowd as representing toughness which he associated with "goofing off, rule breaking and vandalism." Tom expected that the exchange members would display behaviour worthy of praise in the adult world. Exchange participants were pictured as a "select group of students" who were chosen to represent the school. This carried an obligation to maintain a proper image. This outlook grew from the teachings of his religious background and his family's place within the social structure of the community.

The most important area of concern focussed around Tom's question: "How well will I get along with my billet?" To understand the grounding of this question, it is necessary to reflect on Tom's friendship experiences. From kindergarten to grade five, Tom had one close friend who was always in the same class at school. Tom depicted their friendship this way: "We grew up together, got in trouble together, talked together. Like the teachers had to separate us so we wouldn't talk." In this "to-getherness" there was a gathering or meeting in which experiences were communicated and shared. Commencing with grade six, they both transferred to new schools. In the process Tom's friend came into contact with other individuals with whom he had more common interests such as baseball and hockey. There was a sense of bewilderment and frustration in Tom's voice when he pronounced: "He left me!" When a close friend leaves, a part of the "we-ness" is grabbed from your life. No longer is this individual available to share your deep thoughts and secrets. Friendship for Tom is based on these common interests. This provides a basis for communicative sharing and, in turn, bonding which leds to a willingness to talk more openly. In terms of the exchange: What would he and his billet have in common? Would there a basis for friendship? What secrets would they share?

At the same time, some of Tom's favorite places were associated with a sense of aloneness. This was revealed in his description of one such location:

> I use to go down to one corner of the apple orchard. Like there use to be a row of trees and then a bunch of underbrush. There use to be little tracks carved out. There's this clearing--one that you went through. It was really nice and green. It had a rock in the center. It's really peaceful. I always felt like going over there--sitting on the rock. I use to sit there and think a lot.

In the quietness of being alone with his thoughts, Tom had time to contemplate, to wrestle with problems, and to dream.

Likewise, Tom portrayed his room as a retreat where quiet and privacy were his to enjoy. In the sanctity of his room, Tom could make decisions and avoid answering any external questions. His room defined his home territory within which he could make decisions and endeavour to meet his needs.

As we continued to talk about friends in general, Tom made no reference to any of his existing friends. At one point Tom stopped, as if suddenly becoming cognizant, and proclaimed: "I guess I never really thought about it before, but I guess I am a loner. I guess. Trying to be alone. Like, I'd rather sit in my room than go and play football with my friends." Through describing his experiences, Tom began to put into words what had previously been unvoiced. This voicing of aspects of his biography enticed Tom into a growing consciousness of self. In this process of retrospective analysis or re-searching of his past experiences, new patterns of meaning emerged which were not visible when he was immersed in the situations (Pinar, 1978, p. 187). Through questioning we engage in a type of personal liberation from unquestionness.

During our dialogue, Tom became more aware that he did not have someone he called his close friend only acquaintances in the collective relationships of school, cadets, and church. The need for privacy had dominated his need for personal intimacy. While Tom has had limited friendship encounters in the past few years, he began to envision the exchange program as an opportunity to explore the area of relationship in a new setting.

According to Tom, friends should have different interests as well as some common basis for sharing. If people are too different, however, they will not get along. Difficulties can then arise out of this clash of personalities. Tom elaborated:

> We're together for a short time. Well there's hardly anyway that I think Guy [exchange partner] and I could really argue unless he was--or unless either of us felt the other was really arrogant, or we were just too different. Like one guy--one guy's really tidy person. You know folds up his underwear, puts it in a drawer, and has all his socks numbered! And the other person going to bed rips off his pants and chucks it all over there. These people can drive each other crazy in just that time.

Tom recognized the potential for conflict that could be engendered by the immediacy of a "living together". A clash could result from a difference in interests, projects, and stocks of knowledge. Based on the information provided in Guy's letter, Tom depicted him as a very friendly, sports-minded, and outdoors oriented person. While Tom did not describe himself as either sports-minded or outdoors oriented, he commented that both similarities and differences could be a basis for getting along. However, in order for friendship relationships to be effective, Tom considers a sense of sharing and trust to be necessary. For example, Tom explained that some individuals who are not true friends may try to give things to you in order to buy your friendship and acceptance. In a true friendship you know the feelings are there, you do not have to continually test the relationship. Tom elaborated: "If a good friend forgets your birthday and says: 'I forgot. Sorry!', then you know that person is really sorry. Not that they don't care." Thus, you do not question a friend's motives; you accept and trust their intentions. However, developing a new friendship as in an exchange means the other's intentions are open to question. There can be less acceptance of situations; interactions meet on new ground. Tom anticipated a searching for, and an eventual meeting with, his exchange partner on the ground of betweenness of the we relationship.

In order to gain an understanding of this new ground, Tom expressed the following concern: "I want to have some private times so we can just talk." There was an expressed desire to open his own life-world and to delve into the life-world of Guy. The privacy of one-to-one interaction was Tom's preferred basis for this exploration. There was a fear that the large group interaction characteristic of schools would prevent this development.

Furthermore, Tom was concerned about the manner in which the exchange would be organized as reflected in his comment: "I hope they're not going to keep us all together and keep on like elementary kids. Like I hope they're going to say: 'Be back here in half an hour.' Like treat us so that we can go off and show him what I know and some of the things he would like." Tom expressed an aspiration to be treated like an adult who has the power to make decisions and to follow through on them. Tom was motivated to share his own life-world knowledge with his exchange partner, but he was concerned that the organization of the exchange might inhibit this process. This quest for decision-making power is demonstrated in Tom's and other students' attraction to video games. Direct manipulation and testing of skills in these games results in a signal or visual response. The machines "give you fanfare", Tom indicated. Playing the games challenges Tom as he imagines himself in a position of control. In this process he is able to make decisions, to act upon them, and to see the consequences of these decisions.

Tom has been grappling with the sense of power accompaning this decision-making process. For example, when he was on a corporal training course, he felt that they were treated like nothings. On returning to the squadron, Tom sensed a superiority to the junior cadets but at the same time he reported: "It is hard for me to accept for a while that I didn't have this power." Tom desired this power to control certain aspects of his life and to set right conditions in the world. In his private moments Tom imagines he is the "Six Million Dollar Man" who has these powers. This same outlook is reflected in the adventure films which Tom is attracted to: "Raiders of the Lost Arc", "Star Wars", and "Superman". The heroes in these films direct their powers to meaningful goals. A sense of optimism accompanies their goals. Tom recognized that dealing with power, making decisions, and becoming an adult were fraught with difficulties. Yet he optimistically wanted the exchange program to provide opportunities for him to be meaningfully engaged in this process. In both these quests for adulthood and friendship, there was a longing to be and a search to be-long. There was a growing awareness that this sense of belonging was based on intersubjective relationships, not on independent acts. Would the exchange experience foster this creation and growth for Tom?

By engaging in a dialogical interview process with Tom, a fuller, richer understanding of his life-world emerged. It is from his particular background of experience, or biographic point of view, that Tom approached the exchange. Out of these experiences arose Tom's concerns over portraying a proper image, developing a sense of belonging and friendship, and becoming an adult. His life-world experiences provided a lens through which he would be able to define, experience, and interpret an exchange experience.

Tom's Initial Conception of an Exchange Program

> I would tell him that an exchange is a chance to see another place and culture and people. The one week exchanges are a good tour opportunity. The foreign exchanges are good opportunites to learn another language. An exchange is a chance to enlargen a person's point of view or their knowledge. (Tom's response on Program Survey B)

Drawing upon Tom's previously outlined life-world experiences and his additional thoughts regarding exchange programs, I will explore the meaning of his definition of an exchange program prior to the experience itself.

Viewing an exchange as a touring opportunity highlights the tourist aspect of an exchange. Tom felt that the tour locations must offer something different to his own environment. For example, he can conceive of a difference between his present urban setting with its skyscrapers, compared to Victoria's historic buildings. However, Tom considered exchanges with other locations in British Columbia to be of little value. Similarly, in his social studies program he noted that differences were stressed. To point out that another location or another group of people were like "us" in a particular way did not seem appealing to him. This perception is illustrated in an example he outlined: "Since Japan is different, different culture. Very traditional in a way. Very proud of their ancestors. Sumarai and all that stuff. Then they are different. That's why Japan is interesting to learn about." If things are not different, then there is nothing to ex-change. Thus by gaining knowledge of differences then an individual's horizon is enlargened.

Unlike the tourist, Tom envisoned sightseeing as contributing to the enlargening of "a person's point of view or their knowledge", rather than fulfilling his pleasure needs. In earlier discussions Tom conceived of an exchange as an opportunity to test his capabilites and to expand his knowledge. This was reflected in his discussion concerning a preference for small group tour organization: "If we have a group of four from B.C., we're bound to get more information. Someone might remember some interesting facts." Underlying this view was the sense that knowledge of the new setting could be added on to, or en-large his existing knowledge base. He did not perceive that this knowledge could actually change him as a person. Knowing about the rest of the world would give him power, but this act of knowing was not perceived as changing him as a being. Knowledge growth was conceived as an additive process, not a transformational one.

Tom's view of culture was linked to his concept of knowledge. Cultural pride evolves from positive historical traditions or, more importantly, concrete representation of them as in the form of churches and monuments. In the case of British Columbia, Tom stated that there was little "we can call cultural . . . nothing really important that we can be proud of." According to Tom, British Columbian culture lacks the traditions or roots that the Quebec French possess. Referring to written information given in class, Tom explained:

> The Quebec people have come from France like they were mostly missionaries and stuff trying to convert the Indians. . . . They were really religious. England attacked them at the Plains of Abraham and they were defeated. They kind of rebelled against that. Around the 1960's the business language was English and now it's French. . . . They have unique culture. They're the only people who speak French in Canada except for bits in Ontario.

His concept of culture often emphasized unique historical characteristics rather than the present livedness. At the same time Tom desired to experience the French language in lived situations in order to expand his linguistic abilities. Unlike the tourist, he was not attempting to "get away from it all", rather he sought involvement so as to improve his language skills.

Like the traveller as stranger, he was willing to place himself in new situations. Tom recalled previous experiences in which he encountered a group of people who were discussing something he had not heard of. This fostered a sense of strangeness in which his "stock of knowledge" was challenged in Schutzian terms. There was an underlying threat that something new would have to be learned, or that change would have to be made in his existing knowledge. At he same time, simply being different from people around him does not spawn discomfort for Tom as illustrated by his sense of pride when he received a higher mark on a test than other group members. However, the degree of difference is a factor. For example, Tom characterized the Quebec students' culture or way of life as being more similar to his own than other groups such as the Native people. Cast as being similar, the French culture was consequently interpreted in a more positive manner. However, Tom had a sense of ambivalence concerning the similarity between the two groups as reflected in the following statement: "We're a lot alike in a way. We live the same probably. I don't know maybe we won't get along as well with the French as we thought." Thus, there was a desire for an exchange situation which would be "different but not too super different." He was willing to have his horizon expanded but not to the extent that his present horizon would drastically be called into question.

In the sense of seeing other people, Tom characterized himself more in the role of the traveller than the tourist. For example, he defined a trip as looking at something while an exchange was seeing other people. This seeing is an attempt to understand other beings while a trip is a looking at objects. This same intention was expressed in his desire to get along with his billet, Guy. To "get along" is "to establish communication with, to understand." This is reflective of the I-You rather than the I-It relationship. These processes of seeing, getting along, and communicating offered the potential to draw Tom into the life-worlds of the other participants.

Underlying Tom's search was the calling forth of a challenge, an invitation to create something new. This is reflected in Tom's re-calling of an earlier reading experience: "In one story these guys were using signs. When they finally communicate, they're so happy. I guess I want to be able to do that too, to be able to try and come up with something." As Tom experiences the exchange, we will be able to journey with him in his process of creation.

Day Four of the Exchange

Introduction

In order to present a specific concrete portrayal of the exchange experience, I elected to present the day spent in Victoria which was nominated by both Tom and the majority of the students as their favorite hosting day. Like any case study, this will be a partial account "involving selection at every stage from . . . sampling events and instances, to editing and presenting material" (MacDonald & Walker, 1977, p. 9). At the same time it is an attempt to characterize the wholeness and spirit of the events. By highlighting this portrait from Tom's perspective, the intent is to provide "a more intimate sense of students' experience" (Barone, 1982, p. 41). The description of Tom's experiences on this day is based on reflections concerning his pictures, his comments during the interviews, and my observations of this day. The description is written in a narrative form with Tom as the speaker. As much as possible, Tom's actual words were utilized so as to allow Tom to speak for himself (Cottle, 1975). This retelling was an attempt "to maintain epistomological and common sensical consistency with actors-in-a-situation" (Roth, 1979, p. 105). Rather than combining description and analysis, a portrayal of this day will be presented first so as to allow the reader to develop a sense of the experience. Following this portrayal, I will analyze its relationship to Tom's biography and discuss the emergent themes concerning Tom's meaning of the exchange experience.

Day Four

Ring! Ring! Five o'clock. What an uncivilized hour to greet the world. Even the frantic howl of my alarm clock didn't arouse my billet, Guy. It felt like we had just shut the light out five minutes ago after arriving home from Marie's house party. During the past few days, I have been to more parties than I have in the last year! Rising with less than a frantic leap, I dragged myself to the shower. Meanwhile, Guy caught a few more winks of sleep.

Breakfast was rushed as we had to be at school by 6:30 a.m. With our hectic schedule Guy hasn't had much of an opportunity to get to know my family or vice versa. For example, my younger brother was really excited about the exchange, but to date he has only attempted one sentence of conversation. We only stopped at my house to sleep and eat. The rest of the time we were on the go. It's like we were wearing roller skates.

I remember how helpless I felt when Guy first arrived. My family sat on the couch facing him and me almost like a firing squad. It was difficult to know what to say and do. Our eyes looked every direction but at each other. Situations became more relaxed after the first few somewhat tense days of getting to know him better. Guy would try to use a few words of English at a time. I would understand the begining of his sentence. Then he would add a word which would change what I thought he was going to say. Each sentence became a question for me. It was draining translating each sentence. I think this took as much energy as the miles we walked.

Then at 6:00 o'clock we were off and running to the school. On arriving Guy wandered quickly off to join one of his close friends from Quebec. I took a few minutes to talk to one of my classmates. There was an extra pressure trying to be a host and being so conscious of communicating with another person. Sometimes it was nice to relax with someone from your own group who you didn't have to explain everything to.

Plate 1

Yesterday when we meet at the school one non-exchange student said: "You're lucky. You don't have to be in boring school. You've got a holiday!" It's exciting, but it's not exactly a holiday. We have a schedule and a program to follow. Sometimes I worry about the two weeks of school work that I will have to catch up on. But then I push school out of my mind. Our teacher, who we named "dad", shouted out: "Time to board the bus!"

Plate 2

When I noticed on our original schedule all the time that we would be spending on a bus, I wondered what we would do during that time. Wouldn't it be boring? No, it didn't turn out that way. We could sit with whoever we wanted. Some sat with their billets while others talked with students from their own school. I tried to be with Guy as much as possible to show him that I was a good host. There was lots of joking and teasing. Life was more relaxed than in school. At times it was like being on a summer holiday. People seemed to open up more than in school. You can wear a mask in school but when you're this close to people for a week, it shows if you're not real. It was the times in between the scheduled activities that we really got to know each other.

When we boarded the ferry for Victoria, most of our group started off sitting in one section. Soon Guy and I joined his friend and his billet. As Guy's friend spoke better English, he would often translate for Guy. Guy's friend also became a good friend of mine. The four of us then wandered over to play the video games--Space Invaders and others. Later exploring the various decks, we ran into other of our group members. At a designated time, our group toured the pilot deck of the ferry. We wouldn't have been allowed to do this if we weren't travelling as a group. The pilots told us about the water currents and about the use of maps. Interesting stuff. I'm not sure how much of the talk my billet understood as he didn't seem to be paying attention.

Plate 3

On the trip everyone seemed to have a camera. We sure increased Kodak's business! It's kind of neat to have memories of the exchange.

At first my billet didn't smile very much. Sometimes I was worried that he was not enjoying himself. As he was my guest, I felt obligated to entertain him. Yet he seemed so nervous when he was with me. Maybe it was because he had difficulty understanding English.

Our first stop in Victoria was the Provincial Museum. Mom, or otherwise know as Mrs. Gilles, our French teacher, explained in both English and French that we would spend thirty minutes in the museum. "Meet here when you are finished," she insisted. I didn't have much time to read many of the written descriptions. We passed Indian displays, pioneer machinery, and models of primitive man. Several other student groups were on field trips in the museum at the same time. Some of these students were goofing off. Since I saw it as an honour to be chosen for the exchange, I felt a responsibility to make a good impression. I considered it important to look after my billet and to explain to him what was happening. It wasn't always easy. While we toured the museum, some of the other school groups looked at us as if we were strange. I guess it was hearing our group members speak French that did it. Part way through the museum tour, we sat down to watch some slides and to talk to the others in our group. Just as we began to relax someone called: "We've got five more minutes!" When we arrived back at the meeting spot, we had a few minutes of needed rest.

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COPIE DE QUALITEE INFERIEURE

Plate 4

Once we were all assembled the names of our touring groups, four B.C. students and their billets, were read out. Some of the students asked to switch groups because their friends were in another group. No way! We got to know more students this way, but you weren't always with people who you wanted to be with. After receiving further directions about where to meet and what time, we charged off in our groups. Each of us had a map of old Victoria including information on the old buildings. We didn't really follow it too much. First we spent a few minutes in the Empress Hotel.

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Plate 5

THE EMPRESS

Then it was off to other shops. Most of the students wanted to get souvenir things like flags and postcards to take back with them. During the hour and a half that we had for the tour, each group ate at a restaurant of their choice. I liked this part of the exchange because we were more on our own making decisions, rather than being told what to do like in school.

The following shot is of our travelling group in front of a totem pole.

UALITEE INFERIEURE

Plate 6

The girl second from the right spoke English really well. She became attached to one of the boys in our group. When our independent time was over, we met on the steps of the Legislative Building. As you can see everyone was kind of dressed up--no grubbies.

Plate 7

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Before the tour started, our walking group split up and people went off to join their friends. Inside the building our tour guide explained the history of the B.C. government. I was interested in this information but many in our group were not. One of the French students asked: "What did he say?"

One of our group replied, "Non important." However, I considered his talk about the architecture and the paintings like the ones in this picture really interesting.

Plate 8

After the tour we had time for a welcomed rest on the lawn before we boarded the bus. As you can see we were mixing pretty well. We were now begining to feel like one group. Now we had more to talk about like our experiences at the parties, the hockey series, and different personaliies in the group. Sometimes I wonder what Guy is thinking as he doesn't express himself openly in front of me very

ITEE INFERIEURE

often. We haven't been able to get into some of the topics I thought we might like politics. I find it easier to talk to some other students like Louis because his English is better.

Plate 9

As we had extra time in our schedule before driving to the ferry, we stopped by the ocean. These were not new sights for me, but they were for our guests. Some people cooled off in the water. Joseph from Quebec threatened to throw Joan, one of my classmates, into the water. Her screaming apparently saved her. There was lots of teasing going on like you see among friends. Some of it was kind of silly but--

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Plate 10

On the ferry ride back most people relaxed in the chairs. It took a lot of energy to keep a conversation going at this point so I left my billet to wander around with some of his friends. By the time the bus dropped us at the school, everybody was drained. We dragged ourselves home. I think this was probably the best day of the exchange so far.

Analysis of Day Four

Introduction

What does this narration tell us of the meaning of Tom's experiences? In some cases Tom's reflections are expressed directly while in other cases it is necessary to read between the lines to gain an understanding of his interpretations. Likewise, when describing his experiences during the interviews, Tom's voice inflection, vocal pauses, and facial expressions often spoke as clearly as his words. In discussing this particular day, I will additionally draw upon Tom's comments during other interviews, his other pictures of the exchange, the co-ordinators' comments, and my observations of the exchange. As a participant-observer, I was involved in an ongoing process of reflection. Subsequently, in the moving away from the flow of the action, further analysis allowed me to peel back different layers of meaning.

Movement of Time

In the exchange experience, Tom became aware of the intense sensation of the movement of time. Tom spoke of this hectic pace in his metaphor of time as being on roller skates. This was different from his previous daily flow of time which was divided into routine segments in which expectations were familiar and the expected responses known. The exchange program broke this routine of time and place.

In the new spaces surrounding interrelationships, Tom experienced the pressure of continually "being on his toes". This is the situation of the stranger who has to consistently question what is being acted out and said in order to judge the completeness of the communication. When speaking with members of our "own" language group, we take for granted numerous language patterns from intonation patterns to the placing of the subject in a sentence. Dialogue in our own language with a non-native speaker forces us to make conscious these previously unconscious patterns and to question the interpretation and application of these patterns by our partner in the dialogue. This is evidenced in Tom's description of conversations with Guy in "Day Four": "I would understand the beginning of his sentence. Then he would add a word which would change what I thought he was going to say." Speech itself was opened to question. In becoming aware of these issues, there was a subsequent desire to develop ways to deal with the problems encountered. This produced a sensation of limited time and a feeling of being physically drained as he attempted to resolve communication issues.

By changing the environment from the school to the outside world, the sources of knowledge now included not only the teacher, but interaction with other individuals and experiences in other settings. At the same time the day-time events were solely planned and co-ordinated by the teachers. What underlied their selection of the tours of such places as the Provincial Museum and the Legislature? An educational experience was perceived by the teachers as planned and organized so that the students would gain specific predetermined knowledge. As a co-ordinator from another exchange program expressed to me: "You would feel guilty as a teacher taking twenty-five kids and just leaving them with the parents for a week." Guilt was based on the conclusion that the educator's role would be abdicated in this leaving. By planning and scheduling the educational events to maximize the use of the designated time, the teachers felt more in control. The learning objective of the educational events was to enable students to gain a fuller sense of the economic, geographic, cultural, and political nature of the communities. By filling the day with movement and activity, there was an expectation that learning was occurring. The tours justified the time spent out of school to the school administrators and to the Open House Canada Program. In order to increase the learning, more events were planned. This gave Tom the sensation of being on a train which made few stops.

Expansion of Knowledge

At the same time this organized tour aspect of the exchange was not an imposed relevancy for Tom, but one of intrinsic interest (Schutz, 1973). This aspect catered to one of Tom's expectations of an exchange experience which was to expand his knowledge through touring. This appeal is illustrated by his pictures of the pilot deck, the Empress Hotel, and Legislative Buildings. Likewise, about sixty percent of Tom's pictures taken in Vancouver and Quebec were of either natural or man-made physical features observed during these tours. He often expressed a concern that these tours should have been conducted in both French and English so that all students could gain more information. Tom considered the power to be gained from knowing about these objects as a worthwhile goal.

Language Development

In the Vancouver portion of the exchange, the onus fell on the French students to use English. While in Quebec, Tom's intention was to increase his fluency in French. This proved frustrating for Tom as he mentioned: "We spoke more English as we went along. In the beginning I think everybody [in the Vancouver group] was trying to speak French. Then they just realized how hopeless it was because we don't know much French." Tom's language ability improved but the degree of change did not live up to his expectations. At times he would cease speaking in French. As he emphasized, "There aren't too many words that I would be confident in saying." The laughter of French speakers further inhibited Tom from trying. Tom became aware of a deficiency in his stock of knowledge in this situation whereas before the exchange he had expressed confidence in his language ability. According to Schutz (1973), this can occur in a novel experience which "does not fit into what has up until now been taken as the taken-for-granted valid reference scheme" (p. 8). Tom's previous language success created a hurdle which limited his willingness to take risks in language exploration. As the "Quebec students' English was usually better than the Vancouver students French" (Elise), English surfaced as the dominant language of communication.

To ease the tension created by language problems, a number of approaches were utilized. For example, the use of teasing humour as illustrated in the photograph of the threatened dunking in the ocean was one approach. Thus, humorous situations, rather than words, created a sense of relief as the intents did not have to be translated. Humor also assisted in dealing with the difficulties of translation. For example, Tom related an incident which occurred as they journeyed up Grouse Mountain in Vancouver: "We went up on the sky ride. Going up, one of the girls said in French: 'Je peux voir', (I can see), 'chien'. I thought she meant dog. I thought that was really funny, but what she meant was China!" Humor broke the tension involved in continuous translation.

Another means of dealing with this tension was to re-associate with a subgroup of students speaking your own language. Thus, in Tom's recalling of "Day Four", Guy on reaching the school "wandered quickly off to join one of his close friends." Elise, the French teacher, pointed out that by the end of the day the French students would gravitate to the other French speakers. She emphasized: "That's an incredible relief to be able to find someone you can talk to! And our kids would get insulted. 'They're not sticking with us!" A respite was needed from the pressures of constantly making decisions in order to fit someone else's system of relevances. By joining one's own group, an individual is able to relax again, to regain the security of operating in a familiar world of knowing.

Getting to Know Guy

Another source of the hectic pace and pressure in the exchange grew from Tom's desire to "get along" with his billet. Tom's definition of a host as someone who explains and entertains proved demanding. He felt an obligation to understand and meet the needs of his guest. When Tom expressed: "Sometimes I worried that he was not enjoying himself!", his underlying concern was that he was not living up to his own expectations of a host. At the same time, he strove to fulfill his own interests one of which was to gain information from the conducted tours. Guy, on the other hand, did not appear to share this interest. This produced frustration as they did not share this common interest. To "get along" denotes a sense of moving with, of mutually understanding. Tom endeavoured to "be" with Guy by physically moving wherever he went, but the deeper sense of "being with" was a more difficult process.

The initial barriers in this process were illustrated by Tom's description of Guy's arrival in his home. The comparison of this situation to that of being in front of a firing squad highlights the increased awareness of self in which attention is sensed to be focussed on oneself. In the situation of a firing squad, the individual is blindfolded not only for his own benefit but so the executioners do not have to see his eyes. In looking into another's eyes, we see the fright that we ourselves are experiencing. This same sense of helplessness that Tom experienced in their first meeting was again felt on entering the new territory of Guy's home:

> I felt--gee you know this is it! Everything seemed to be happening so quickly. His mother--I was so surprised because I never really pictured her. Then you know a living person right there. Getting into the car and driving to his house. I felt kind of helpless in a way. I don't know why, but I just seemed helpless.

Tom was bombarded with new experiential data that he could not process readily in his usual way. He could not utilize his same taken-for-granted assumptions but had to be continually involved in a questioning process. This fostered an increased sensation of speed as there was not enough time to consider and to make the required frequent decisions. In this situation he expressed a need for "help"; help to define the situation so as to make appropriate decisions. This constant tension created excitment, but it also placed demands on his psychological and physical energy.

In these face-to-face interactions, some aspects of Guy's being were manifested while others were "presented in shadowy form" or "were completely opaque" (Natanson, 1970, p. 101). In these situations Tom was continually searching for answers to the question: "Who is this other being--Guy?" This process involved a search for common biographic experiences, some bridge that they could meet on. This bridge began to form on the second night when Tom sat at a party conversing with Guy and his friend. He reported this situation in writing as an meaningful incident: "I talked for a long time and I was surprised to see how much we could communicate. We also shared a few jokes and experiences in flying on an airliner." Before Guy arrived Tom utilized neutral or broad positive labels to describe Guy such as "a sports person." The face-to-face nature of their interaction encouraged a questioning of his personal typifications. This is similar to hearing an individual's deep voice on the telephone whereby we conjure an image of a tall, heavyset person. Then dissonance is established when in our face-to-face meeting, we are greeted by a short, frail individual. Likewise, experiences with Guy called some of Tom's earlier neutral typifications into question. For example, after the first week Tom saw Guy as nervous and lacking in self-confidence. When observing Guy in his own social milieu in Quebec, Tom characterized him as more confident and direct. This apparent contradiction, or negative instance in Gadamer's terms (1982), called his expectations into question. Similarly Tom considered another situation:

> Because he's an only child, he tended to be stubborn. He wasn't used to giving in to anybody. Who was there to give in to? He was stubborn and a bit self-centered. That's something I wouldn't want to tell him. But just because he's an only child, he doesn't have to share anything. So he just gets what he wants.

In his encountering of Guy's "apparent selfishness", Tom experienced frustration as Guy did not live up to Tom's original expectation of him. Through a dialectical process of questioning, Tom sought to understand Guy's personality. In this process Tom did not attribute Guy's personality to his French background, rather he sought to ground Guy's person characteristics in the nature of his particular social situation. When meeting the anomoly of Guy's unco-operative attitude, doubt was created (Werner, 1977). To resolve this doubt, the typification of the lone child was brought into play. Thus, as Werner postulates: "that which formerly was a strange fact and a puzzling problem to our mind is transformed into an additional element of our stock of knowledge" (1977, p. 105).

In this ongoing search of coming to know Guy, Tom displayed a desire to enter what Buber (1965) speaks of as genuine dialogue in which:

> I become aware of him, aware that he is different,

> essentially different from myself, in the definite unique way which is pecular to him, and I accept whom I thus see, so that in full earnestness I can direct what I say to him as the person he is. (p. 79)

Establishing the basis for an I-You dialogue was not an easy journey. Under the intensity of the lived relationship of the exchange, both Tom and Guy made decisions as to what they wanted to reveal and to share. In the quest to address each other with their respective wholeness, both a sacrifice and a risk were involved. Sacrifice meant giving up the mask that Tom spoke of, that is "the form of himself which is at the same time not himself" (O'Bannion & O'Connell, 1970, p. 130). In the giving up or revealing, a risk is taken. These risks occurred in the environment of the exchange in which there was not a common experienced past. With a defined time limit as to the future of the interaction, the emphasis was on the lived present. While there were moments when the I-You relationship was realized in their private talks, his hopes of sharing the secrets of friendship were not fully reached with Guy.

At the same time it was a process which Tom was aware that they had just initiated. Recalling his most meaningful incident of the Quebec portion, Tom wrote: "On the last night Guy and I talked about a lot of things and I got to know him better. When we were leaving, Guy almost started to cry (eyes got wet) a bit and I didn't know he liked me that much. I would like to see him again." As the exchange was ending, Tom perceived Guy as opening up more.

In his interaction Tom changed from the idealism of totally trying to understand another person to a recognition that this position had limits. He became cognizant that he could never fully understand another's:

> intended meanings because their perspectives and meaning contexts are the result of their previous lived experiences, and because he cannot aquire the same consciousness, live their intentional acts, experience their phantasies, and constitute meaning and reality from their Now and Here as they do. (Werner, 1977, p. 199)

This meant that Tom was continually involved in the hermeneutic process of interpretation as he endeavoured "to get to know" Guy.

Growth in Sense of Community

As well as developing a relationship with his billet, Tom communicated and socialized with Guy's friends especially Louis, who spoke English competently. Tom discerned that most particpants associated with their own friends or their partner's friends. Adding to this interpretation, Tom mentioned: "I don't really have any friends [from B.C School] in the exchange, good friends". Consequently, Tom and Guy associated more with Guy's friends. However, as his interaction proceeded, Tom gained a deeper understanding of other B.C. students as exemplified in his following account:

> I always thought this guy [B.C. student] was a real tough kind of person. I always thought that he thought he was pretty good. Too good for me kind of thing. . . . He asked me a few questions. Sometimes then I'd make a reply as if we were buddy buddy kind of thing. I thought he would just say: "Ah get out of here!" or something like that. But he responded and we talked. . . . In a way closer friends, more experiences. You just get to see people in natural life not in school.

Tom was surprised at his growing ability to interact and to relate with other students. The exchange created opportunities to engage in common experiences, the meaning of which could engender a basis for communication. In this process various facets of an individual's personality were encouraged to emerge. His reference to the "natural life" world of the exchange indicates a different sphere of reality than in school. The wearing of a mask in school, which he referred to in his description of "Day Four", likewise points out the unnaturalness of being what you are not, whereas the living of the exchange experience encouraged a lifting of the masks. By reducing the social distance between himself and others, Tom permitted opportunities for mutual opening and sharing.

From this opening, a sense of Buber's "We" relationship is seen to emerge. Essential to this relationship is an appreciation for the uniqueness of other individuals. There is an acceptance of the other which Buber (1965) calls confirming the other's presence in which you mutually "discover in you what you are meant to become" (p. 30). This provides a basis for dialogue. In this process authenticity is required which Tom pointed to when he emphasized: "You can wear a mask in school, but when you're close to people for a week, it shows if you're not real." Underlying this statement of relationship in school is Buber's concept of the collective. A collective lacks the sense of bonding of the "We" relationship. In the institutionalization of the collective, the wearing of the mask is appropriate so that you do not reveal yourself and engage with others with your whole being. Friedman characterizes the wearing of this mask as "the tendency toward appearance . . . which makes us habitually pretend toward others what we do not feel (cited in Shapiro, 1984, p. 59). By contrast, Buber's term for "community" comes from the Armenian word for "fellowship" or "close association", indicating a "state of attachment, companionship, or friendship" (Cohen, A., 1983, p. 71).

This growing sense of meeting or coming together can be seen in the "Day Four" pictures where the students gathered on their own to dialogue outside the Legislature Buildings, by the seaside, and other locations, whenever there was a pause from the organized activities. The official and unofficial activities fostered common foci and opportunities to share interpretations of common activities. The mutual teasing of fellow group members as in the picture of the feigned drowning is a symbol of the developing we-ness of the group. Taunting is waged against out-group members whereas teasing is a sign of the inbetweenness that Buber speaks of as a recognition of shared intimacy.

In this relationship "the community consciousness shared by members manifests a sense of loyality and genuine concern with the lives of its partners" (Shapiro, 1984, p. 56). In part, this relationship is determined by the definition of the out-group. For example, when Tom described the Museum Tour, he stated that the other groups "looked at us as if we were strange." People outside the exchange group were considered "they". This is highlighted in Rudyard Kipling's poem, "We and They":

Father, Mother and me,
Sister and Auntie say
All the people like us are We
And everybody else is They.
And They live over the way.
But would you believe it?
They look upon We
As only a sort of They!

In his description Tom points out that the exchange is not just between two individuals but engages the participants in a developing sense of community. Initially Tom did not feel part of the group from his own school. Likewise, he considered the Quebec students as a "they" group. In the limited time offered in the exchange, Tom struggled in the face-to-face interactions to open his life to the development of the dialogue of the inbetween.

Tom's Conception of an Exchange as Experienced

Introduction

Drawing on the previous descriptions and analysis, I will discuss Tom's conception of an exchange experience indicating developments in his conceptualization. When describing "Day Four", Tom specified that the experience was not a holiday. What did he mean? For Tom a holiday frees you from responsibility. It supplies an escape. In one sense Tom experienced being temporarily freed from the worries and obligations of school. However, participation in the exchange was not a movement away from obligation. Rather, many additional responsibilites were undertaken. For example, as a host Tom continually interpreted his milieu for his guest while endeavoring to understand and meet his guest's needs. As a guest, Tom had to determine the system of relevances of the new life-world he entered in order to operate effectively in it. Being a chosen representative of the school, Tom felt obligated to promote a positive image of his school and community through his actions. For example, he did not dress in his "grubbies" as this would conjure up a negative image.

Likewise, when comparing a field trip to an exchange, Tom's opinion was that students on a field trip do not have the same concern for image, nor the same sense of obligation or responsibility as an exchange participant. Field trip participants concern themselves with their own interests while exchange participants are thrust into the life-world of another individual. While a field trip often has a specific focus, an exchange is more holistic with involvement in economic, geographic, historical, political, and social realms. In part Tom pictured an exchange as a series of field trips. However, while an exchange participant endeavours as one goal to gain an understanding of another individual, a field trip participant does not focus on this objective. This distinction was highlighted by Tom's suggestion to improve the exchange experience by further opening up the participants' life-worlds through encouraging "more unplanned activities such as visiting relatives and friends." It was this entering of other life-worlds which distinguished the exchange experience from other situations in his schooling.

The Experience of Movement

Tom's original definition of an exchange emphasized the "tour" component. In the exchange as experienced, Tom spoke enthusiastically of the acutal flight aspect of this touring as this exerpt illustrates: "Flying was neat! I saw the cockpit of the 747. You look out on a 737 and you've got a little engine on the wings and that looks pretty big compared to say a Lear Jet. But then it's so small compared to a 747." The exchange offered an opportunity to satisfy and expand his flying interests. For Tom, this physical reciprocal movement was an essential part of an exchange. Movement allowed him to change places, to gain a different vantage point. As a result, Tom was able to experience physical settings and cultural edifices different from his own. His knowledge in such areas as industry, architecture, and government was enhanced. One reason why he suggested extending the length of the exchange was to promote opportunities for seeing additional sights. This information did not noticeably change the basis for his own outlook but served to reinforce existing ideas. For example, observing the results of open-pit mining strengthened his position on responsible use of natural resources. Thus, there was an expanded experiential base for his beliefs and a wider range of examples to support his stand. Movement opened opportunities to expand this knowledge base. While continuing to stress the importance of tours, Tom evaluated the actual experiences as being too rushed to maximize benefits. There was a growing sense that the group tours constituted too large a portion of the exchange time.

Most of the locations visited provided prepackaged tours which were aimed at a generalized audience. While they were selected to meet "educational objectives", most of these same experiences could be available for other "tourists". At the same time some organized experiences were only offered as "educational tours" whereby an organization such as the Ferry Corporation displayed its inner world. There was an attempt to gain access to the life-world behind the image. Under the normal course of events, these tours would not be as accessible to the general public. Unlike a tourist, Tom sought to gain new knowledge rather than to meet pleasure needs. The tours were a means to an end for Tom, not an end in and of themselves.

Souvenirs and Gifts

Another aspect which could reflect the tourist aspect was the search for souvenirs. Tourist souvenirs tend to be associated with the pleasure of touring a particular sight. For some they are status symbols. The objects served several purposes for the exchange participants. They established concretely, for those in their home community, that they had come through some experience. For Tom the objects were icons to represent and to facilitate the sharing of memories of intersubjective exchange experiences with other home members. Participants also exchanged gifts signifying the importance of their relationships. A gift is a symbol or representation of the intangible area of the shared inbetweenness created in intersubjective relationships while a souvenir is associated with a person's relationship to the objective qualities of a sight or place. Thus, the same object can be associated with different intents.

Cultural Experiences

In his original definition Tom felt that an exchange permitted an individual to view a different culture with particular emphasis on the historical aspects. This was to be evidenced especially in physical representations. During the exchange experience, Tom retained this perception of culture as portrayed through his choice of subjects for pictures and his interview comments. For example, he was impressed with the heroic statues in Quebec commemorating acts centuries old: "great heroes of France like towering statues forty feet high. Champlain at the top and angels all the way around." Tom's own religious background was reflected in his being drawn to religious edifices.

Tom was aware of the language differences but did not link these with other cultural aspects. When striving to actualize his goal of increasing his French language fluency, Tom experienced disappointment. Unable to obtain the high level of progress he expected, Tom would sometimes refrain from speaking French. This would lower the risk of making mistakes. Prior to the exchange, Tom had similarly referred to situations in which he felt uncomfortable because other individuals were discussing some topic which he was unfamiliar with. Tom vacillated between viewing his language ability as improving and interpreting his abilities as inadequate. As a result, his emphasis in the exchange program moved away from the goal of language development to other aspects of the experience.

When discussing aspects of culture, Tom was hesitant to form generalizations. For example, he was hesitant to make judgments about the Quebec students' religious attitudes as he expressed: "None of them really seemed religious but I only really got to know Guy and he didn't go to church. They probably don't take it as seriously as we do. Because I take it seriously. I go to church. So it might just be my opinion." The only generalization he proposed, based on his observations of their group parties and other social gatherings, was that the Quebeçois were more sociable. Tom would describe personal differences such as his greater desire for food than Guy's, but he would not generalize in cultural terms. He stressed that he had had an experience with a particular student and family who might not be representative of Quebec French culture or other individuals and families. In this stand is evidenced the nature of face-to-face relations defined by Schutz (1966) as "composed of associates who share a community of space during a certain length of time" (xxiv). In the sharing of a vivid present, it is the other being's unique individuality which is emphasized.

While recognizing these unique personal differences, common or shared aspects were also sought in the quest to communicate. For example, Tom described similarities between their tangible aspects of culture as reflected in common standards of living as evidenced in their shopping centers and industries. Likewise, Tom perceived their respective school organizations and expectations as being similar. Tom had difficulty vocalizing his interpretations of less tangible cultural similarities and differences. The French co-ordinator, Elise, expressed this feeling cogently:

> I think differences are really hard to identify in words because they are different and the words that you have are identified by what you are use to. If you are experiencing something different, the words are just not there. . . . It's really subtle especially the two cultures French and English. But they are so engrained and so subtle that it's your out-look, it's your vocabulary, it's the way you speak. . . . If you were talking about colors, it might just be a different intensity or a different hue. That's very difficult to distinguish.

While Tom had previously described an exchange as based on differences, it was more the similarities that he was able to recognize and vocalize. Choosing appropriate words to voice the subtle cultural differences was a task that Tom was hesitant to engage in.

Interpersonal Relationships

One area where he focussed more attention was on the development of personal interactions. This can be linked to our initial dialogues when he came to the realization: "I guess I am a loner." Engaging in the exchange encouraged Tom to reflect on the dialectic relationship between his being a loner and the intersubjective relationships of the exchange. This personal transformation evolved from the surfacing and release of previously unconscious material. Similarly, Pinar (1978) found this process operating in the autobiographical approach when he stated: "Ontological state will be altered and future behavior will of itself be altered" (p. 176). This is reflected in Tom's addition to his written definition of an exchange program: "It's a chance to get to know one person mainly but also to know a few new friends. Also I got to know my billet's family." This knowing was on a person-to-person basis. Each person's name signified their individuality: Guy, Louis, and Marie. Attached to each name was an interpretation of their specific personality. They were not considered French Canadians as a category but as individuals.

Perceptions were formed through interaction with these individuals within the shared activities of the exchange. Whether it was the tour of a pig farm or a museum, these situations fostered a common base for experiences and discussion. It was not the specific content that was essential but the commonness of the experiencing of the situation, a going through it together. This does not mean that each person necessarily had the same experience or interpretation of the experience. However, the experiences provided a basis for communication, for getting along.

Expanding Horizons

Involvement in these experiences provided an opportunity to put into practice his theories of human interaction. As such, the livedness of the exchange became a vehicle for developing and testing ideas which grew out of his previous life-world experiences. In this process we see a praxis relationship. Some of his ideas were challenged in the experiencing of the exchange while others were affirmed. This process was not without turmoil, rather it was a continual dialectical endeavour to expand his horizon of meaning based on interactions with other individuals (Gadamer, 1982). Each conversation became an exploration, not only to determine the other's standpoint, but to create an experiencing and understanding of the interplay of their biographies in the ongoing situations. Tension emerged on many fronts, for example, his urge to gain knowledge in an I-It relationship dialectically related to his attention given to personal relationships in the I-You realm. This ongoing expansion of his horizons changed the oriention of his life-world and the meaning of past, present, and future experiences. In this fusion of horizons new understanding emerged. This understanding itself raised new questions which encouraged his horizons to expand in a widening search to respond to the questions raised.

Concluding Remarks

Utilizing Tom's original definition of an exchange, one would have expected that his highlights would have referred to sights or content knowledge. Instead, his attention became more focussed on personal relationships as reflected in the three experiences he selected as most memorable: swimming with Guy, talking with Guy at a party, and saying good-bye. All of these activities were connected to Tom's search for friendship in a new coming together. The exchange provided opportunities for this search although it did not necessarily resolve these issues for Tom. Through dealing with the increased opportunity for interaction and the resulting intensity, Tom became more confident that he could enter relationships and gain friends. This confidence was demonstrated by his willingness and consequent success in running in the Students' Union election following his return from the exchange.

Although his original conception of an exchange was based on engaging in an environment of differences, the exchange experience fostered a search for common bonding experiences while at the same time recognizing unique differences. This process was an intense experience in which Tom and Guy began as strangers. In their subsequent experiences, they grew to have a deeper understanding of each other as individual beings. Tom endeavoured to enter the life-world of Guy not so that he could be like Guy, but so that through a mutual understanding of their life-worlds, he could interact to develop a friendship relationship. With friendships as its basis, growing sense of community developed within the group.

Tom originally expressed a desire to "create something" through the exchange experience. The creation he produced through engaging in the personal interaction of the exchange was an awareness of, and a struggle with, his growing humanness. Tom bears witness to a being-in-the-world "on an odyssey of self-discovery" (Suransky, 1980, p. 406).

Personal Reflections

> There is no place to stand apart from a stand point. We are always living out a story. There is no way to live a storyless, or standpointless life. (Novak, 1978, p. 62)

Interview Process

During the intensity of the interview process, both students expressed an urge to tell their story, to have someone listen to their drama unfold. I wondered how many other students were searching for an opportunity to share and to examine the meaning of their experiences with another non-evaluative human being. This non-evaluative relationship was based on an acceptance of Ann and Tom as beings-in-becoming and on the worthwhileness of their understanding of their experiences. This did not mean that I had to have the same interpretive meanings, but that I was first willing to actively listen to the expression of their reflections. Secondly, it meant that I wanted to understand their life-world from their prespective. In this process I endeavoured to foster an atmosphere in which the students were willing to take risks while revealing and sharing their experiences. As we progressed in this getting to know each other, both students became more trusting and willing to express their thoughts and doubts.

While exploring the meaning of the experience with each individual, I displayed my empathy for them as other human beings in search of meaning. I did not place myself in their shoes, but within my shoes I placed myself in their situation. I did not lose myself and become the other person as this would abrogate their individuality and mine. In this exploration I showed my respect for Tom and Ann as beings-in-becoming. Through raising questions, I assisted them in bringing to consciousness the meaning of their experience.

Throughout our dialogue, I explored a variety of interactive approaches to open and promote this communication. At first, I thought I should become Kluckholn's perception of an interviewer, "a blank screen upon which the informant projects his life" (cited in Crane, 1974, p. 122). I became uncomfortable with this image of blankness which some investigators see as synonymous with a neutral position. My questions, although often of an open-ended nature, still reflected my standpoint which was based on gaining an understanding of the students' exchange experiences from their perspective.

As an inter-view is based on human interaction, I could not leave my humanness out of the situation. This mutuality is reflected in a passage from Interviewing Children and Adolescents : "It's an old saying that a bore is somebody who talks about himself when we want to talk about ourselves, it is also true that it is boring for the child if the other person will not talk at all" (Rich, 1968, p. 41). In this talking I attempted to model an openness so that the students would feel comfortable being open themselves. For example, by pointing to an issue I had relating to my brother, Tom felt more willing to probe his own situation. However, in other cases where I entered the conversation by giving a connected experience, the discussion was curtailed. The decision to enter the conversation in this manner had to be based on the student's mood and the topic under consideration.

My most common and beneficial role was to provide verbal and non-verbal support indicating I was actively listening. This listening was with my "eyes and mind and skin and guts as well" (Benjamin, 1974, p. 44). In addition, by posing relevant questions, the students sensed that I considered their thoughts as worthy of further pursuit. Like Basses, Chittener, and Annel (1976), I found that a high level, generalized question was either not answered, or responded to in an abstract manner not related to the personal experiences of the participants. Asking for a personal example often avoided this situation and brought out personal constructs more readily. This coupled with clarifying questions gained the fullest response.

To enhance this process of communication, further time could have been profitably spent during our initial session discussing my intents and background. After engaging in a dialogue, the intents of the research have to be re-examined as they may be interpreted differently in light of the new experiences. Tom initiated a questioning of these research intents during one of the sessions. However, with more hesitant individuals, it would be appropriate to offer a specific opportunity to discuss this issue.

The major intent of this interview process was different from a dialogue between friends. In the interview process, there was an agreement to focus upon the students' biographies and their reflections on the exchange experience. Through raising clarifying and probing questions, I endeavoured to have the students voice their experiences and to foster their reflection upon these experiences. In this pursuit I was attempting to "experience the other side" (Buber, 1965) in order to understand the students' experiences. This was not a necessary reciprocal intention of the students. That is to say, their major intent was not to understand my biography or exchange experiences. In friendship, experiencing the other side is mutual. That is not to say that our relationship was unfriendly as within our dialogue situation an I-You relationship developed "founded on mutuality, trust, and partnership in a common situation" (Buber, 1965, p. 31). We were both part of the reality of the interview situation, but the focus of the dialogue was the reality of the student's experiences.

However, in cases where the tape recorder was off, as for example, when I drove Tom home after our interview sessions, our conversation was characterized by a more equal sharing of questions and contributions. There was a more enriched mutual experiencing of the other side. In these situations I experienced the flow of a more natural conversation in which I felt freer to talk with rather than to question. I became experientially aware of the interview as a social situation, in and of itself, in which the interviewer endeavours to promote and capture another individual's meaning of his/her lived experiences gained outside the interview itself. The interview provided an opportunity to step back from the ongoingness, or stream of life, in order to reflect upon the meaningfulness of the experiences therein. I could see the need for both foci. While the taped sessions allowed a more specific focussed discussion with an emphasis on the students' thoughts, our other sessions permitted a mutual getting to know each other. Considering these developments, I would be interested to compare what is revealed in focussed sessions that are both taped and untaped.

In the interview environment, I found myself continually reading the students' non-verbal gestures to determine what was appropriate and tactful as a next step. I became more in tune with their feelings as I learned their various ways of expressing themselves. This made me realize how valuable a series of interview sessions with the same individual was in order to gain a fuller, more authentic understanding of their reality. For example, at one session Tom arrived very upset because of an earlier fight with a student in the lunchroom. If this had been the only session I had with him, my perspective would have been limited. Instead, this incident became part of a series of events which contributed to my growing understanding.

This interview process was not simply a re-telling of events as in the act of retelling new reflective meanings emerged. A question calls' us to juxtapose various aspects of our experience which may have at one time been viewed as discrete. As a consequence, both our past experiences and succeeding experiences are cast in a new light. This was poignantly revealed in a previously cited discussion with Tom concerning friends in which he reflected: "I guess I never really thought about it before, but I guess I am a loner." In Tom's case my questions served as a catalyst which activated his own internal questioning. By vocalizing our own inner thoughts in dialogue, we become more aware of ourselves. With increased self-awareness, we see ourselves from a different perspective. I can recall situations in discussions where I spoke and then thought: "I said that?" or "That's not a bad idea. I didn't know I was thinking that!" Dialogue encourages the voicing of these unspoken ideas. In Freire's terms our interview discussions became more dialogical with "a common striving towards awareness of reality and towards self-awareness" (1974, p. 98). This search for understanding of the meaning of the exchange experience was one in which Ann, Tom, and I were mutually engaged.

By studying the dialogues through the biographic approach, I could examine the historical roots of both individuals' beliefs and thoughts on the exchange experience. The students did not greet the exchange experience as blank tablets on which to etch new experiences. Rather, they interpreted each new experience in light of previous experiences. Tom and Ann's perspectives were based on "the context of experiences and insights and judgments accumulated to that point" (Novak, 1978, p. 55). Through a series of interviews at different points in the experience, it was possible to see change or growth. The biographic approach displayed the individual existential nature of meaning creation through and from experience. That is not to say the individuals acted in isolation, but rather they interacted in a social milieu as social beings. I found myself agreeing with Wellman (1977) who said that the focussed interview and life-history make "it possible to confront the special features and subtleties of each particular case and to view the person or the social process in some larger context or situation" (xiii). Interacting with Ann and Tom enabled me to gain a deeper sense of the specific concreteness of the exchange experience through the eyes of students.

Ethnographic Approach

In terms of the ethnographic approach, a number of issues evolved. Entering the situation, I was perceived by others and myself in the role of the stranger. Nash (1963) described the role of the ethnographer as a stranger who begins in the role of the traveller subject to displacement in space, time, and social position. Entering the exchange experience, I was not a participant in the same sense as the students, nor could I be, due in part to our age difference and to their role as student hosts. As an adult I was identified by the students as being similar in some respects to the other adults who were the co-ordinators. Although through previous teaching experience I was familiar with the general operation of school systems, I was not in the same position as the teachers who were organizing and making decisions with regards to the exchange. I was not an designated part of any of the operating systems. In the flurry of the activities, my movements went relatively unnoticed. At the same time, this position allowed me a different vantage point from which to view the experience.

In this position the co-ordinator pictured me as an evaluator. This necessitated a continual negotiation in order to become part of the activities. The invitation was not always extended; I had to ask to participate. For example, I wanted to travel with the group on the bus, but I was informed that there was not enough room. Likewise, allocating school time for the students to complete the questionnaires was considered impossible so they responded during lunch hour as part of their meeting sessions. Given the time constraints, this limited the amount that students were willing to write. My experiences brought to life a statement I had read earlier: "Sharing the life, action and sentiments of people in face-to-face relationships presents problems of negotiation for the researcher" (Robinson, 1974, p. 55).

Having been involved in a number of other exchanges as a co-ordinator, I remembered being absorbed in the frantic flow of activities with minimal time for reflection. In my present role as a researcher, I participated in events, but had a sense of being apart from the flow in my conscious role of an observer. In this role of the researcher, I did not have a responsibility to the group, nor a sense of determining its direction. I missed the responsibility and emotional involvement that the co-ordinator role provided. However, this was balanced by my involvement with my two key informants, Tom and Ann. In this process they were able to confirm, reject, or expand my observations and interpretations of the exchange gained through my increased time for reflection as a participant-observer. This was an important element in the validation process.

From my observations of the exchange, group meetings, and other activities within the school, I gathered a wealth of information. An important question became how to select the most relevant data and portray them in such a manner so as to "maintain the integrity of the participants' views" (Magoon, 1977, p. 667) while at the same time giving the reader a sense of the exchange as experienced. Because of my time and energy involved, I had a personal investment in all the data that I collected which led to a desire to present it all! Thus, the process of selection became a crucial but frustrating one.

In this process of data collection, the photographs added another dimension. Ann's initial pictures focussing on her pet, home, and mother provided an effective means to open discussion concerning her life-world. An analysis of both students' pictures was a useful methodological process as it validated some of the themes arising out of the dialogues and sparked the exploration of others. Originally, I had intended to employ the pictures as a catalyst for discusssion. When it came time to discuss the pictures, I had already developed a rapport with the students so it was not as necessary for the pictures to fill this function. However, in some cases the photographs jolted their memory which then allowed them to explore a new area. When describing the photographs, their enthusiasm was inescapable. However, their report on a picture would often stress an objective re-telling of what was in the picture. In their excitement of giving this information, it was difficult to get the students to reflect on the processes illustrated or on the meaning underlying the situation as the objects captured their attention. It would have been more productive to have students select a small sample which they felt represented the key aspects of the exchange experience. As it was, our dialogue forced them to grapple with the meaning of the experience more than the telling of their pictures. At the same time, by supplying Tom and Ann with film and duplicates of their exchange pictures, their contributions in the research process were acknowledged.

Utilizing the ethnographic approach, I endeavoured to present Tom's experiences primarily in his own words in "Day Four". Some readers may characterize this portrayal as being too simplistic or lacking in a display of the poetic. At the same time this does not mean that his experiences were any less meaningful. It was hoped that the text of Tom's experience would establish a basis for further mutual interpretation on the part of the reader and of myself, as co-researchers. This process of interpretation is a necessary next step as reporting the words in and of themselves does not reveal the full meaning of the experience. For example, Tom spoke of his search for new relationships not always in specific words but by his sighs, by his pauses, and by what he seemed hesitant to reveal. Psathas (1973) likewise exhorts researchers to discover the experiences of individuals but not to accept "statements respondents make as the literal and sufficient explanations of their conduct, beliefs, values or knowledge" (p. 16). Other frames of reference, in addition to the participants', can be utilized to enhance an understanding of their life-worlds. Thus, it is necessary to examine and interpret an informant's description so as to convey the fullness of the meaning of the experience.

In our exploration of their life-worlds, both Ann and Tom demonstrated a struggling with a number of issues such as a search for friendship and a development of a sense of family. At the same time they were considered model, well-adjusted students by the school staff. From their discussions it became evident that our schools often do not assist students to deal with these and other issues important to them. If these students who are achieving within the school system have unmet needs, it seems to follow that students who are not succeeding have a wider range of unfulfilled needs. How do educators get in touch with these needs and issues? If it is considered important to help students to deal with these needs, what structural, content, and interactive changes are required in the educational setting?

Concluding Reflections

The opportunities which developed for personal interaction were a rewarding aspect of this part of the research process. I experienced the closeness of being drawn into the life-worlds of Tom and Ann. Our shared moments of mutual caring and insight were gratifying. In the process we displayed "the ways human beings confront their humanness" (Roberts & Akensanya, 1974, p. 39). Our dialogue helped me to capture what a questionnaire would not have revealed. At the same time: "An interview is no neutral encounter, but a problematic, often painful human situation which changes the interviewer as well as the respondent" (Wellman, 1977, p. xvii). Through this encounter I gained a deeper personal understanding of the meaning of the exchange experience and a further questioning of my own perspective.

Chapter VIII

THE EXPERIENCE OF COMING TO KNOW THE OTHER IN HIS OR HER SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE

Introduction

As witnessed in the previous discussion of Tom's experiences and reflections, an ongoing dialectical struggle existed in his growing to understand himself and the other individual participants. Major questions underlying Tom's descriptions and those of other participants emerged: How well are we communicating? How are we alike and how are we different? How can we share our life-worlds? Who am I becoming in this process of encounter? In this search participants grappled with the tension involved in experiencing, recognizing, and reflecting upon similarities and differences between their life-worlds and those of the other participants.

An earlier analysis of the non-participants' considerations (See Ch. VI) pointed out the different relationships focussed upon by tourists and travellers. Tourists in their unwillingness to leave the security of their own environment see the outside life-world as populated by groups of people perceived as different from themselves. On the other hand, travellers seek to interact with individuals who inhabit other life-worlds so as to understand what they share in common as well as the differences between themselves and others. Ann (interviewee) captured the thoughts of the participant travellers when she explained: "I used to think other people in other lands were totally weird and different when all they are is similar to our ways."

What is the nature of the exchange experience and, in particular, what are the intersubjective relationships which fostered this change? Further, what made it possible for friendship relations to grow within the exchange encounters? To respond to these questions, further examples will be drawn from the descriptions of Ann and Tom during our dialogues, the written responses of the other participants, and my observations of the activities. In order to deepen the understanding of these experiences, I will employ ideas presented primarily in the works of Buber, Schutz, Levinas, and Sadler.

Growth in Maturity: Becoming Experienced

> No words can really explain how I felt about the experience of the exchange. Only it was something I'll never forget! (Exchange participant, Form C)

From the outset, the students had certain expectations regarding the kinds of experiences which the exchange program would offer them. For example, one student wrote concerning her expectations of the Quebec students' visit: "I expect that it will be a deeply fulfilling experience." Yet what do the students mean when they refer to the exchange as an "experience"?

An Engaging in Self-Discovery

The participants reported undergoing a process of dis-covery, rather than being "told about" something. As such, the experience touched them, moved them in a meaningful way. This experiential element of self-discovery is illustrated in Debra's situation. Prior

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to the exchange, Debra proficiently completed her class assignments in an independent, unobtrusive manner. She placed little emphasis on social interaction with other students. However, within the exchange program Debra began to initiate interaction and open herself to others. These interrelationships called forth numerous challenges as she noted in one incident:

> I told my billet that I thought she and I were not getting along because she kept running off with her friends, and I had to keep chasing her. She told me that she liked me, but that she also liked being with her friends. We were able to sort of, sort out this problem. I think we were able to get along better after.

When dealing with the challenges presented in the experience, Debra actively participated in the creation of meaning, that is, she filled the events that she engaged in with meaning. Debra reported: "I felt changed by the experience. Before, I didn't want to associate with other people. Now, I want to take part with others." Debra discovered her strengths and abilities which enabled her to come to know herself more fully. The others, in their responding, assisted in this process. Having been previously cast in the typification of the quiet student in the life-world of her school, Debra now began to experiment with new ways of being and to vocalize her being-in-becoming.

This personal struggle points out one distinction between the word "knowledgeable" which means that "one is well in-formed", and "experienced" which means that "a person has become wiser or more skillful through personal observation or contact". As Debra's situation shows, an experience exerts a personal impact, a move of some lasting importance in an individual's life-history. This aspect is captured in Gadamer's definition of the German word for experience Erlebnis which means "the immediacy, which precedes all interpretation, treatment, or communication" as "well as its discovered yield, its lasting residue" (1982, p. 56). This aspect of experience is reflected in the participants' usage of the current popular term "awe-some" which means that "a happening is filled with wonderment waiting to be discovered".

An Adventure into the Unknown

The wonderment that arose in the exchange experience had the quality of an ad-venture. The exchange experience provided an opportunity for participants to explore their independence. This was observed in a concrete sense when an unscheduled stop was made at the base of a waterfall. Some students cautiously climbed up the rocky trail and tested the rocks crossing the stream one step at a time. Other students rushed in a frantic race to reach the top sliding as they gripped whatever was available. Reaching the top, the students' faces beamed with smiles of satisfaction. The unknown had been met and conquered.

For many students, the exchange trip was their first time venturing out from their home on their own. Like other adventures, the exchange voyage left the banks of the ac-customed way of life to enter into a world of uncertainty. The security of the home was out of reach. Ann expressed this concern when she described the nervous tension in her stomach as the Ecole St. Jean School Band blared out a song of welcome. There was a stiffness, a hesitancy in her movement, as she descended from the bus. While searching in the sea of faces for her host family, an endless list of questions raced through her mind: Will they like me? What will their home be like? Where will I sleep? Ann's situation exemplifies Gadamer's point that an adventure "removes the conditions and obligations of everyday life" (1982, p. 62). Consequently, previous assumptions are open to question.

In the exchange as adventure, the students took risks as the unknown future held no guarantees. Even the forming of a sentence in French was an adventure. For example, one student spoke of her struggle to find the appropriate French words to describe her feelings concerning their tour of the pig barn. The students laughed at her as she expressed her thoughts. She explained: "I realized they were laughing at my pronunciation, but at times it would make me feel really small." Entering the realm of an unfamiliar language presented personal risks. In part, the exchange was like the rites of passage ceremonies for young people in some other societies in which individuals have to face a specific ordeal, or test, apart from the normal flow of activities in their life-world.

Expansion of Horizons of Meaning

In their position as strangers, the participants began to ask questions of themselves and/or others concerning the expectations of the new environment: What rules does the family have that I have to follow? Will we have to go to church on Sunday? What will I do if I don't like the food? This questioning attitude made it possible for the participants to widen their horizons of meaning by which Gadamer means a "range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point" (1982, p. 269). A question displays an openness as one searches for unknown answers. When the students explained that the experience really "opened their eyes", they were referring to the questioning which led to an expansion of horizons. For example, one student was horrified at the way the land visited in Quebec was gouged, laid bare, in order to mine the ore. She felt little effort was being made to return the land to its natural state. This made her realize: "If people are going to use the land, they had better fix it up after!" By contrast, tourists carry their ecological bubble, or horizon of meanings, with them as they pass "through" a situation. As questions are not raised, there is no need for tourists to explore. Consequently, tourists return home with their perspective untampered. On the other hand, underlying many of the participants' explorations were the following questions: How can we communicate effectively? Will my exchange partner like me? How can my exchange partner and I become friends? With these as guiding questions, a major focus of the experience became intersubjective relationships.

In welcoming such new experiences, the participants were thrust into a new arena of horizons. As the person appeared to get closer, a new horizon was formed which had its own limits. This process is illustrated in Tom's coming to know Guy. During their first encounters, Tom saw Guy as a quiet, nervous individual who was hesitant to become involved. When Tom arrived in Quebec, Guy seemed like a different person--confident, willing to take on leadership, but self-centered. Tom recognized Guy[illegible] sense of security flowing out of his being in his own life-world. Within this new horizon or situation, Tom now understood Guy's self-centeredness as linked to his being an only child whereby his needs were met unchallenged by siblings. By actively placing himself in another's position in a different life-world, Tom learned to experience life from a widened perspective. This meant that a further reality was now seen in a new light. Thus, through meeting a challenge, one's horizon is widened. This aspect is similarly revealed in the down to earth comment by one participant: "I am now aware that the world is bigger than the size of B.C."

Making Decisions

This opportunity to explore their social environment and their being-in-the-world meant that the participants were required to make decisions, to make choices. These decisions resulted in concrete consequences that had to be dealt with. As situations became defined as problematic, various questions arose: What should I do if I'm left by myself in a new group? What should I do of they do not understand my French? What is the appropriate thing to say, or do, if you don't want any more food?

Participants had to consider whether the particular situation called for approaches similar to, or different from, those employed in their own life-worlds. This was demonstrated at a social gathering in Quebec in which the tables were pushed back, a band struck up a country tune, and the Quebec students began dancing. One student wrote: "They didn't need a partner. They just got up and danced! I felt kind of weird. I wanted to dance, but no one asked me!" Some B.C. students finally tapped the "courage" to join the dancers and adapt to a new life-world. In these and other experiences, the participants were not told what to do. They had to make decisions which in turn brought about responses from others.

Unproblematic Confirmational Experiences

When discussing their search for meaning, the participants related experiences which confirmed their existing knowledge. Ann provides an example of this type of experience in her relationship with Jacqueline. From information provided in Jacqueline's letter, Ann pictured her as an independent person who did what she wanted irrespective of the group's expectations. This knowledge was confirmed in incidents like the following one:

> When we were at a party, I asked Jacqueline: "Do you want to join the rest of the students downstairs?"
>
> She replied: "No, I want to talk with the teachers upstairs."
>
> She didn't seem concerned about what the other kids would think about her hanging around with the teachers so much. She was different that way sometimes. From her letter I got this same idea. Happenings like this just convinced me of my first impression.

As Ann points out, a confirmational experience is defined as an unproblematic situation which means that the individual's stock of knowledge is unchallenged. That is, the experience confirms "the typical applicability of these elements of knowledge and corroborate[s] the efficacy of the relevance structures" (Schutz & Luckman, 1973, p. 226). Thus, this particular experience with Jacqueline did not change Ann's perspective of her. Instead, reinforcement of her existing knowledge occurred in the experiencing of lived-in, concrete situations. This type of experience is reflective of an encounter situation in which another being is met in a face-to-face situation.

Similarly, some students had confirmational experiences involving objects. Through viewing pictures or hearing verbal descriptions prior to the trip, participants had formed images of various sights. The exchange allowed them to experience these objects in a concrete, three-dimensional manner. This is exemplified in one student's description: "I had seen a picture of the huge cathedral before, but when I walked inside, the ceiling seemed so high above my head. I seemed so small. I could see the carvings and pictures of saints so clearly." Thus, some concrete experiences during the exchange provided further justification for their existing knowledge.

Interruption of the Taken-for-Granted

Participants also were involved in dialectic experiences in which previous generalizations and typicalities were questioned and shown to be incomplete. The reality of the new life-world that was entered demanded a re-explanation of their experience and interrupted "the course of the chain of self-evidency" (Schutz & Luckman, 1973, p. 11). The negativity of the experience opened the participants' eyes, but they still had to determine how to resolve apparent contradictions. Ann revealed this dialectic approach when describing an incident during a meal at a large gathering in Quebec:

> They were putting out all these weird things. We knew we had pancakes for dessert so someone was going: "I guess the maple syrup's for the pancakes." Then we saw my billet.

> She was putting brown sugar and maple syrup on her beans--like brown beans! Beans and wieners!
>
> "What are you doing?" [Ann]
>
> "This is the way you eat it." [Jacqueline - exchange partner]
>
> Then I said: "Come on you guys. Jeff put some beans here." I mixed it all together. It was really good!

At first, Ann rejected the new experience as it did not fit in with her existing stock of knowledge. This negativity led Ann to question her expectations. However, through using her partner as a model, she gained an understanding of what was expected in this new situation. In the ensuing resolution, Ann expanded her knowledge of foods, but more importantly she realized that something strange could become something shared and enjoyed. This type of experience made Ann question her typifications and, in turn, challenged her to change her typifications.

Entering Another Life-World: Orientation Provided by Relevances

In the participants' own life-worlds, a meeting of their pragmatic motives was emphasized. The participants' typifications had enabled them to respond to these pragmatic motives in their own life-worlds. For example, in their own life-worlds the students chose their friends and dealt with issues that arose in maintaining their friendships such as responding to the other's demands for attention. However, in order to deal with their new situation in which they did not have, for example, a choice in the selection of their exchange partner on the basis of friendship, adaption and change were required to meet the evolving pragmatic needs. Ann elaborated on this process:

> You had to learn to get along with people more. You couldn't just say: "I don't like you!" because you were stuck with them. You had to learn to be friendly with them even if you didn't want to. Even people who you didn't want to be with, you had to learn to cope with that.

Thus, in dealing with pragmatic, concrete situations, the participants were confronted with the dialectical nature of the exchange experience.

Roger's situation is a case in point. Prior to the exchange, Roger's French teacher noted that he was uninvolved in class which resulted in his limited progress. However, during the exchange, Roger could be frequently heard speaking a haulting mixture of French and English as in the following situation: "Est-ce-que vous, what's the word? Oh yeah! Aimez T.V.?" Roger took advantage of every opportunity to converse with his billet and other members of the Quebec group. Defining the communication situation as problematic, Roger drew on his previous knowledge and took risks both expressing himself and in endeavouring to gain knowledge from the other participants. Immediate feedback flowed from the concrete, meaningful situations of the exchange experience. French was used in a context in which Roger recognized a purpose. His teacher beamed when she explained: "He kept trying. He would say anything and everybody would be laughing, cracking up at what he was saying. He really got off on it. There was no comparison in his French between pre and after." With respect to this development, Roger explained that he had gained confidence in dealing with the challenges of the exchange experience. Participation in the exchange had changed him. He had become more experienced.

At the same time, this process was not envisioned, or participated in, by each student in the same manner. For example, other students did not tackle language development with the same fervour that Roger did. Aside from having different biographies and stocks of knowledge, each student defined his or her own pragmatic concerns based on a particular system of relevances. For example, Tom emphasized the importance of knowledge to be gained from the tours of factories and government buildings. On one such tour, another student was overheard saying, "What do you think you'll wear to the party on Friday night?" Tom had to deal with this "noise" and interference of others who did not share the same motivational relevances. Thus, an individual's system of relevances determined what was recognized as problematic and, in turn, what became a dialectical experience.

In this respect most students did not designate geographic, economic, political, or religious issues as problematic. Instead, their search to understand the other's life-world focussed on two main aspects of their system of relevances: interpersonal communication and development of social relations. The organized tours, as such, were not considered vehicles for meeting these goals. This is exemplified by one student's comments during a film presentation on one industrial tour: "This is just like being in school! Are we going to get a test on this stuff?" However, whenever there was a break in the tours, the participants would turn their attention to the social interaction and their ensuing dialogues revolved around such questions as: What did you think of George's crazy stunts at the party last night? Did you like the food we had for supper last night?

What boy do you think danced the best at the party? During this "free" time, the students could venture out of their passive role as tourists into encounter situations. These social interactions were the "real" experiences for them.

Concluding Remarks on Experience

After engaging in the exchange, the participants significantly stated that they had become "more mature" not that they were now "mature". The latter aspect of maturity is associated with a sense of completeness of being fully developed (from the Latin word maturus meaning "ripe"). However, more appropriate to the participants' growth in understanding is the meaning of maturity as "being experienced". New experiences during the exchange program called the students to explore the possibilities of the situation and their own development.

Experiences gained in these relationships changed the participants. For example, one participant felt that being able to communicate in another language increased her self-confidence: "I really felt great when I was able to talk for several minutes with my exchange partner's mother about the things she grew in her garden. I really surprised myself. I didn't think I could do it!" Through their experiences, the participants did not sense themselves to be finished persons but individuals in a process of becoming.

Demonstrated in the students' involvement in the exchange was not only a sense of becoming more experienced but a continued openness to new experience. As one student wrote: "I have changed by wanting to see even more of my own country. I'm not satisfied by only seeing Quebec". It was not a growth in definitive knowledge which was the main goal of this dialectic exchange experience, but the "openness to experience that is encouraged by experience itself" (Gadamer, 1982, p. 319).

Coming To Know The Otherness Of The Other

Prior to their initial direct encounters, the B.C. students formed outline images of their exchange partners based on their existing typifications, the contents of the Ecole St. Jean video tape, and the students' letters. Seeing the person moving and talking on the video, as if they were "real", in some cases created a dissonance as the B.C students observed the person but could not relate to the image on the television screen. There was more than the physical distance separating them; there was an experiential and relational distance. One student mentioned that he could hardly wait until they "really" got to know their exchange partner. On re-viewing the video tape after the exchange ended, Ann elucidated:

> You got impressions the first time you got a letter from them. You go [after initial viewing of the video]: "Oh! She looks like this?" You just image everything. Now you see the video, and you know them, and you look back again. You get a totally different idea. "How could I ever think that of her! You can just tell she's this way."

Through experiencing, relating with, and coming to know the other students, the participants no longer held a hollow image but an understanding based on an intricate system of unique details gained through both the I-It and I-You spheres.

Experiences in the I-It Sphere

Perception of the Other Through Typifications

Before their initial meeting, the B.C. participants considered the Quebec students as contemporaries, people who co-exist in time but who do not directly experience each other (Schutz, 1970). With information given in the letters from their exchange partners, the B.C. students began to form images of their partners which consisted of physical characteristics such as tall, short, and long hair, and personality traits such as friendly, easy to get along with, and enthusiastic. Each of the students' personal typifications or pre-judgments cast the specific Quebec students in a positive light, but were not at this point based on face-to-face experiences. Group typifications were also brought into play. For example, Ann stated, "I have heard that the French students are more outgoing that us." These typifications assisted in forming an image of the students and provided an original framework upon which new information could be organized. As such, prior to contact, the Quebec students were viewed as an out-group. However, positive rather than negative typifications were employed to describe them as a generalized "they".

Why were these typifications considered necessary? As the participants were entering a new situation involving a number of unknown quantities, a feeling of helplessness, which Tom spoke of when meeting his billet's family, permeated their situation. Utilization of typifications lessened this feeling as these prior classifications helped to organize the new life-world and the people therein. This organization was conceived as leading to a greater degree of control over the situation. In this respect one student described a particular language meeting prior to the exchange as being "useful" since it provided a number of French expressions appropriate for the dinner table. This gave him more self-confidence as he felt he would "know" what to expect. Initially, these typifications were considered applicable to situations regardless of the specific individual relationships therein.

For some participants, the first coming to know the other was a cautious I-It information session. This process was like a game of barter in which one person says, "You give me some information about yourself, and I will respond likewise." In the giving, there was the expectation of something being presented in return. The first evening of conversation was often a finding out "about" the other. One student recalled questions employed to gain this information: What are your hobbies? How many brothers and sisters do you have? What are your favorite T.V. programs? The primary objective of these questions was to gain knowledge concerning the other's biography and stock of knowledge. As part of the I-It process of using information, this search attempted to uncover the past of the other (Buber, 1970, p. 63).

There was a quest to establish a basis for an orderly situation of interaction in this process of gaining knowledge. As such, there was a need to situate the other using a framework that had meaning to the questioner. The intention of this process was to discover in what ways their biographies were the same or different. Similarly, when adult strangers meet in a Canadian cultural setting, they often ask each other the question, "What do you do for a living?" The other's response calls to mind a series of typifications related to such categories as political ideas, housing standards, and education background. As in the students' situations, this objective knowledge provides a guide for interpreting further social action so as to make "efficient" decisions in new situations.

Similarly, the participants endeavoured to gain more control over their situation through expanding their language skills. They realized that naming gave power. In this process other students were employed as living examples and resources. This is not to infer that either party necessarily negatively perceived this process of being used as a means. For example, one student mentioned: "It was great fun telling my exchange partner the meaning of words and showing her how to pronounce words in English!"

Thus, typifications allowed the participants to approach the new experiences in the exchange with objective categories. As such, the other was viewed as an "It" in the I-It relation of Buber.

Out-Group Members in the I-It Relationship

During the exchange program, some relations with out-group members did not leave the sphere of the I-It. For example, the tour guides at the various "sights" were portrayed as experts in their fields dispensing information for the utilization of the students. Their goal was to supply "knowledge of" a situation. Who they were as individuals was not a concern. Other people not directly involved in the exchange program were also viewed from the role of the tourist in the I-It sphere. This approach was exhibited when the students toured the Ecole St. Jean. On this excursion, Ann asked if three other friends could join her so she wouldn't feel alone. She recalled walking into one classroom:

> First we were just sitting at the back. Me and Laurie all hunched up together you know. The teacher says: "No, no! You girls come up here." So me and Laurie were split up. I called out silently: "Laurie! Laurie!". . . We were just standing up there and everybody was looking at us. I wanted to run away from them.

In this situation there was a viewing of the anonymous students as "Its". Each It was interpreted as being an alien, something different from Ann. In Ann's desire to rush away, there was an avoidance of a coming to understand these strangers in an I-You encounter situation.

Similarly, Ann came to realize that other out-group members saw her as different, or strange, as her account of an episode in the hallway of the Ecole St. Jean School illustrates:

> I felt like a specimen with everybody looking at me. Some people just sat looking at us. Then they would leave. I would go: "What were they here for?"
>
> "They just came over here because they wanted to see you." [Jacqueline]
>
> I'd go, "Well, hi!" They thought we were so different that they wanted to come look at us to see what was happening.

In this setting Ann gained a sense of being related to as an It. Ann was shaken as she had always considered herself as an individual, a member of the majority group. In the students' stares, Ann experienced a feeling of being perceived and treated as a member of a minority group, a category which did not take into account her specific personal qualities. Sartre (1964) writes of this objectified look: "By the mere appearance of the Other, I am put in the position of passing judgment on myself as on an object, for it is as an object that I appear to the Other" (p. 222). When seeing the other as an It, differences rather than similarities are emphasized, otherwise, the boundaries between the groups would be more difficult to recognize. With a change in boundaries, new typifications would be required upon which to base further action.

Host-Guest Relationship

Another aspect of the I-It relation was reflected in the participants' perception of the exchange as a host-guest relationship. Ann spoke of experiencing both of these roles in different portions of the exchange:

> In B.C. you tried to brighten it up for them, to explain things, to make them feel welcome. When I was there, I was looking at whatever they had to show me. Here, I knew what I was doing. I didn't know what I was doing there so obviously I fell into feeling a guest there.

In her home situation Ann was the knower, a provider of direction and knowledge, while in an initially strange land, she felt more at the mercy of the other's willingness to give her information or knowledge. Both the words "host" and "guest" (the one who is hosted) share the same origin in the Latin word hostis which means "stranger, enemy, or foreigner". A distance or separation is revealed in these terms which denotes a differentiation between the participants.

The guest as stranger comes with an unknown background which means that the host needs to show friendly intent while assessing the situation. If the person remains a guest only, then he/she "remains a stranger inhabiting an alien world of his own" (Wild, 1969, p. 13). In this situation there is not a sharing of self with the other but a giving of information and objects. In addition, the stranger calls my dwelling into question by his or her presence. Levinas (1969) speaks of this sense of dwelling of the I as being the source from which its powers begin to unfold. Speaking of Levinas' stance, Strasser (1982) states, "My home is for myself at the same time my fortress and my sally-point" (p. 619). In this sense dwelling is a feeling of security, a sense of knowing. However, the approach of the guest calls this security into question. This dwelling or home "has a 'street front,' but also its secrecy" (Levinas, 1969, p. 156). As a host, the main intent is to share the street front, not the secrecy.

However, in the host-guest relationship, an initial sense of responsibility is displayed. In this regard, the students were concerned that the Quebec students had accomodations which were to their liking, that they liked the food provided, and that they enjoyed the activities. This situation is analogous to a dinner party in which the host's reputation is at stake based on his or her ability to meet the needs of the guests. The basis for the participants' initial responsibility did not grow so much out of being responsive to the needs of the other for the other's sake, but in being responsive to their own needs as a host, that is, to enhance acceptance in their own home group. To do so, there was a need to put the best side of the group forward. Thus, the host-guest relationship was based on a sense of obligation largely to one's own group. That is, through the host, the group's reputation is at stake. The host must fulfill his/her obligation to meet the needs of the other as guest as defined by the host group. Therefore, as a host, the person is not involved in the act of substitution, that is, putting oneself in another's position

(Levinas, 1969). The host cannot become a guest in his/her own home, nor can the guest become a host in the house of his/her host. There is a separation and distancing in the roles. Differences rather than sameness are emphasized.

Initially, some of the B.C. students expressed frustration in this relationship. This developed as they endeavoured to fulfill the role of a host by staying by their exchange partner's side in order to explain their home territority to their partners while their partner would sometimes prefer to join their Quebec friends. In this respect the host was held "host-age" by the guest until the obligations of the host were met. Similarly, in a number of cultures the host feels obligated to give a guest an item in the household which the guest admires. Likewise, during the exchange program, the students had a sense of obligation which was initially not based on the uniqueness of the other but on a sense of responsibility for the other, the guest. One student remarked: "It might not have been nice, but when they left I felt a sense of relief. I enjoyed having them here, but sometimes it was difficult looking after them and explaining everything." Some participants remained in this host-guest relationship while others were able to relate on a more intimate, personal level.

Retention of Encounter Situation in I-It Knowledge

The expression of knowledge in I-It terms may also result from both an I-You encounter and an I-It situation. Ann highlights this process when referring to her exchange partner, Jacqueline:

> She got easily upset about what people would say. She got

> upset quite easily sometimes, but she easily forgave them. So sometimes she was easy going, and sometimes she wasn't. Most of the time she was. She cared about people. But when it came to her doing someting, she really didn't care what people thought. She just went out and did it.

When describing this aspect of coming to know Jacqueline in the form of a re-telling about her, Ann's process of reflection brought the "You" into the realm of the "It" for purposes of explanation. This gave Ann a fuller sense of control, as she was better able to predict how Jacqueline would act in future situations. Thus, when Jacqueline got up and danced by herself at a party, Ann was not surprised or embarrassed as she now expected such behaviour. In the telling of her analysis, there was a distancing from the You which allowed Ann to place Jacqueline "in a spatio-temporal-causal context: only now does each receive its place, its course, its measurability, its conditionality" (Buber, 1970, p. 81). Only the It can be put in order.

Understanding the Other Through Encounter Relations

Aspects of Face-to-Face Encounter Fostering the I-You Relation

Participants also approached the getting to know another through the directness and wholeness of the I-You sphere which allowed them to gain access to specific details of the individual. As one student pointed out when discussing her exchange partner: "There are certain things that you can't really point out. You just know her." As such, the other was grasped in his/her wholeness as a total being. Buber (1970) refers to this process of coming to know the other: "When we walk our way and encounter a man who comes toward us, walking his way, we know our way only and not his, for his comes to life for us only in the encounter" (p. 124). The exchange experience brought participants together in these encounter situations.

Part of the temporal aspect of the encounter was an emphasis on the present--a realization of a "now or never" time frame which motivated participants to engage in the dialogue of the I-You. Their dialogue emphasized the living in the present, existential moment of relationship. As the participants moved from the initial fears of planning future acts of involvement to an enjoyment of the present, they were able to feel more at home in the moment they were living. These opportunities were most evidenced during "social activities" in which participants did not have to "live up" to the real or imaginary expectations of the program, but could be themselves and "live in" the moment. These relationships called the other to join in the joy of co-existing in the present.

This was reflected in the relationship beteen Marie and Jeff. From the second day of the exchange Jeff was Marie's constant shadow. Marie was quite fluent in English as demonstrated by her ability to use puns and slang expressions. As a result, Jeff and Marie were able to discuss a variety of topics from sports to the latest episode of the "A-Team". Jeff spent as much, or more, time with Marie as he did with his billet. Writing about his most meaningful experience during the B.C. portion of the exchange, Jeff commented: "I met a girl! It turned out that she had a boy-friend. I knew even that if she didn't have a boy-friend, it would not last because the exchange is only for two weeks. Well I guess that's life!" Jeff's focus of the exchange was on engaging in a "shipboard romance". Clasped hands and melting eyes revealed their attachment. Both parties recognized the temporariness of the situation. Long term commitment was not required, rather the focus was on the enjoyment of the present through participating in an experience of mutuality.

This emphasis on the "vivid present" exists in a face-to-face relation in which there is a shared temporality and spaciality. For example, one student described being in a high-speed elevator with her exchange partner. As their eyes met, there was a flash of shared anticipation. Both gasped as the elevator lurched downward, and they left their hearts in their throats! The face-to-face situation allowed the participants to verbally and non-verbally share this common moment. In turn, they could share the meaning arising from such experiences.

Grounding of the I-You Encounter

Yet, what makes the sharing of the face-to-face situation possible? Beginning as strangers entering a new life-world, the participants demonstrated an initial distancing of themselves from this life-world and the beings therein. This is reflected in the students' concern over their ability to communicate with the other participants. As one participant remarked, "I'm worried that I won't be able to get my ideas across to my exchange partner." The word "across" points to the distance between the speaker and the other. A sense of difference with respect to language and culture separated the two. However, as Buber explains, "the act of self-distancing produces human situation; the Beziehung [relation] initiates the process of becoming human in that situation" (cited in Beek & Weiland, 1964, p. 55). Through initial distancing, an ability to greet a potential You in interrelationship is made possible. However, this in itself does not ensure a meeting of the I and You in relation.

In this turning to the other, which Levinas (1969) calls "saying", a risk is taken as the person opens him or herself to the other. That which is innermost is brought forward as expression for the other. Sensing this process, the participants raised a major question, "Will we be able to get along?" Underlying this question was the fear of rejection which can result from the act of saying. For some students, this turning to the other was a cautious step involving a limited exposure and a testing of the other's response. For example, Tom's exchange partner, Guy, was at first unwilling to turn toward Tom to share other than factual biographic material. Initially, there was a turning away from Tom towards his Quebec friends which illustrates the point that "the Other with whom I want to communicate cannot be indifferent to me" (Strasser, 1982, p. 631). On the other hand, Ann and Jacqueline quickly opened their lives to each other. Ann remarked: "By the second night, I knew we would be friends. We could joke and tease each other. I felt comfortable with her." Students spoke of this reaction as "two people clicking together" which refers to the immediacy with which two individuals come together. Sociological antecedents such as common biographies, similar motivations, and comparable educational backgrounds can be employed to attempt to explain this phenomena, but there remains some unexplainable leap that is mutually recognized by the participants as in a reassuring smile, a touch on the shoulder, or a word of encouragement. The relationship expression "love at first sight" captures this immediacy in a turning to the other.

The place in an encounter relationship where the I and the You meet is called the "between" by Buber (1970). In this meeting the two do not become one. Instead, the very act by which the two individuals meet, that is, dialogue, is based on a meeting of individuals on the basis of themselves in which the otherness of the other is recognized (Levinas, 1969). While language differences between exchange partners could hinder the dialogue of relationship and lead to misunderstandings, the desire to share in dialogue provided one medium within which the I-You relationship could grow. The element from which this relationship "receives its life is speech, the communal speaking that begins: in the midst of speaking with one another" (Buber, 1965, p. 106). This desire to establish a dialogue led to the participants predominant use of English as the French students' English was generally better than the B.C. students' French.

The inbetweenness of authentic dialogue is made possible by the making present or confirming of another. Confirming the other means that the other is accepted as a person who has the potential, right, and freedom to become more fully human. It does not mean that an individual accepts or agrees with all that another says or does. For example, in Ann's earlier description of her exchange partner, Ann did not agree with Jacqueline becoming so easily upset. Yet at the same time, there was an acceptance of Jacqueline as a person and an expression of being accessible to her. By not rejecting the other's being, then both parties are open to further dialogue. Within dialogue ideas can be discussed and challenged, but the other's right to become is accepted.

This putting of the world into words and offering it to the other is an act of generosity. At the same time this offering entails a risk. How will the other view me? One student described her initial apprehension of engaging in dialogue during the first part of the exchange as being so intense that she went into seclusion with her homework to avoid the questioning of the dialogical encounter. Some of this risk was reduced by participating in group situations in which the onus was not placed on a given individual to maintain a dialogue. Ann explained her need for group activities especially at the begining of the exchange: "You join a group because it's not just a conversation between you and your billet. They can grab onto the person that they want to hold on to, and you can do the same." In her choice of the words "grab" and "hold", Ann emphasizes the need for security provided by an attachment to the familiar.

The meaning of a dialogue is not only in the specific words themselves but in that which grounds them. This is demonstrated in a description Ann gave when describing a picture taken during a party at her house.

> The hockey game was on in the corner. This is Bill who was telling dirty jokes. My mom and grandmother were sitting nearby. I go, "You guys don't listen here!"
>
> The other Quebec students would go, "I don't understand!" It would take so long to explain. None of the words were in the dictionary. Then everybody would go, "Oh, I get it!" Then everybody would start laughing and that wasn't even part of the joke! It was really funny!

The importance of the situation was not the joke or dialogue per se, but the responsive drawing together through intersubjective action. Enjoyment of the company of the other was shared and displayed in the laughter. Levinas (1969) calls this subjective opening to the other "welcoming the Other, as hospitality" (p. 27). In this welcome and joining in dialogue, the other is accepted as a partner. The meaning of the dialogue "is found in neither one, nor the other of the partners, nor in both added together, but in their interchange" (Buber, 1965, p. 26).

While dialogue between strangers as in the host-guest relation is a responding to the generalized other in a cautious offering in word and deed of one's world, participants in a face-to-face dialogue move out of the I-It relation into one of genuine relation with the totality of the other. The nature of the face-to-face situations challenged some of the participants' typifications. For example, prior to the exchange one student characterized the French students as being very active religiously. Discussions with the participants and observations in the community, revealed symbols of religion such as a large cross light up in the hills above the community, but this student found his host family minimally interested in religion. Contrary to the student's expectation, they did not attend mass on the Sunday as he anticipated.

Thus, through dialogue in face-to-face situations, relations with the other became based on the unique qualities of the other's sameness and difference, rather than the other as category. Buber (1970) refers to the exclusiveness of this type of relationship as a You stepping forth "to confront us in its uniqueness" (p. 126). This approach was evidenced in the participants' hesitancy to generalize from their experiences gained during interaction with a given individual to other French students. Hanna et al. (1980) discovered this same outlook when studying exchange programs: "If there is any generalization to which most participants would ascribe, it is probably the refusal to generalize: you can't generalize about people" (p. 47).

Involved in the I-You relationship within which Ann and the other students came to an understanding of their exchange partner is what Buber (1965) calls "imagining the real" or "experiencing the other side" which in its "essential being this gift is not a looking at the other, but a bold swinging--demanding the most intensive stirring of one's being--into the life of another" (p. 81). In this experience an individual attempts to picture concretely what another individual is sensing, thinking, and feeling at a given moment. Words need not necessarily be exchanged. For example, during one talk by a government official, two students turned to each other, raised their eyebrows, and smiled knowingly to each other. There was a mutual understanding that the speaker lacked relevance in their lives, but there was a demonstration that the two students were important in each others' lives. As such, this exchange of smiles reflected a sharing of a mutual outlook and a bond which joined them together. This is not empathy in which the self is omitted and bows to a supremacy of the other. Rather, it is an act of inclusion. In experiencing the other side, individuals do not lose their experiencing of their reality within the situation, rather, their experiencing is expanded. This process was demonstrated poignantly during another exchange program that I was involved in. During this exchange, a number of Native students regretfully decided not to participate in a follow-up visit to their exchange partners' homes. Their decision was based on an elder's vision involving an object falling from the sky. The exchange students in the other commmunity likewise regretted the Native students' decision. However, they did not question the basis for the resolution of this issue as in their previous experiencing of the "other side", they had come to understand more fully the Native students' way of life. This was made possible by the act of substitution by which Levenas (1969) means the placing of oneself "into the place of the Other." On the other hand, other individuals at the host school not directly involved in the program could not fathom such a decision.

Through a dialogical relationship the exchange students opened their life-worlds to each other as they engaged in face-to-face interaction. There was a coming to know the otherness of the other through an understanding of that which the dialogue brought forward to be shared. In the spoken words and actions, the participants were able to experience the other side.

Issues Arising from the Dialectical Relationship of the I-It and I-You

Speaking of the continual movement between the I-It and I-You spheres, Buber (1970) states:

> One cannot live in the pure present: it would consume us if care were not taken that it is overcome quickly and

> thoroughly. But in pure past one can live; in fact, only there can life be arranged. One only has to fill every moment with experiencing and using, and it ceases to burn. And in all seriousness of truth, listen [Du in German original]: without It a human being cannot live. But whoever lives only with that is not human. (p. 85)

This flow between spheres was not always recognized as such or engaged in simultaneously. When exchange partners approached each other from the different spheres of the I-It and I-You, potential for misunderstanding arose. While the dialogue of the I-You emphasizes encounter, which means to meet directly so as to engage in expressing one's feelings and thoughts, the intent of those in an I-It situation was that of utilization. For example, during interaction between Rudy and Philip, Philip was very intent on improving his English ability. Rudy exclaimed: "He was always asking what the English word was for something. Sometimes I felt like a walking dictionary. But we never seemed to talk about more important things like our favorite T.V. shows or friends." While Rudy stressed the need for dialogue and development of a relationship, Philip wanted to gain technical information about the other's language. As long as Rudy provided the information, Philip found the experience enjoyable from his I-It perspective. However, Rudy who was searching to enter an I-You relationship did not find their situation as rewarding.

Likewise, frustration can arise if a person feels viewed as a typification, rather than an individual being as one student stressed prior to the exchange: "I expect them to be nice and courteous and not acting like they know everything about us already." Initially, the participants frequently retreated to their own respective groups to avoid the struggle involved in forming relationships and to discuss the issues that had evolved with their exchange partners. In this and other situations, the grasping of the I-You was not always immediately accessible.

Furthermore, as Kaufmann (1970) points out: "A genuine encounter can be quite exhausting, even when it is exhilarating, and I do not always want to give myself" (p. 17). Ann highlighted this situation when describing her thoughts following the first portion of the exchange:

> It was mean of me to think this, but when they were leaving, I was thinking: "Four days to catch up on my sleep. Four days to be by myself--to have time to myelf. And four days to catch up on my homework." I was glad you know. It would be okay if all that was spread out in more days. It was hectic. But now I don't want it to be over.

The pressures of questioning and responding in new situations were both mentally and physically exhausting. In this respect the participants emphasized the twenty-four hour commmitment to the program which left minimal private time.

As well, issues in the I-It sphere could create problems in encounter situations as Ann outlined:

> Late at night you'd hop into bed. "Goodnight!" Go to sleep. Five-thirty in the morning: "Are you going to take a shower?" "May I?" We only have one bathroom so with three people it got to be a bit much. So I'd let her take a shower first, and I'd go to sleep for a half an hour longer. She washed her hair every two days. One day I altered. It took her forever to braid her hair.
>
> Other kids at school would go: "You're late!"
>
> "It's not my fault! She was braiding her hair, okay? Don't get mad at me!" We only got that organized in the last three days. So the first part was the most hectic part.

Daily routines such as showering had become more conscious, more open to question. Adjustments had to be made to their daily life schedules so as to not interfer with personal relations in encounters. Thus, even the living in one's own life-world had an element of unsettledness. The presence of the other called this life into question. For example, one B.C. student mentioned that when his exchange partner pointed out how beautiful the mountains were, they ceased to be a blur in the background and were drawn sharply into focus again so as to be re-appreciated. The routineness of life had been altered.

When entering relationships, another struggle faced by the participants was that between "being" and "seeming". According to Buber (1965), "being" arises from what one really is while "seeming" proceeds from how one wishes to appear. Students referred to this seemingness as masks worn to hide our real being. They recognized that seemingness interferes with the deepening of a relationship to that of an I-You. However, especially at the begining with other participants and often with out-group members, there was sense of responsibility to maintain a positive "image". As selected representatives, they were expected, and felt responsive to the request, to put the group's best side forward. One student illustrated this perception when he explained: "We couldn't just goof around like we do here [Vancouver]. There you had to be responsible and put on a good show." This was especially sensed during the organized tours out in "public" where they were open to view. Yet, within their relationships with other participants, the students increasingly revealed their being and became themselves.

Within the dialogue relationship is a dwelling in a "world that is homely and houselike" (Sadler, 1969, p. 54). However, this dialogue is not always one of angelic calm. In the closeness and mutuality of the home, disagreement can arise. The speaking directly from the heart which being at home allows can still sometimes be like walking on a tight rope. For example, for a few days Ann was dealing with a cold. Her partner was very concerned about Ann and continually asked how she was feeling and what she could do to help her. Ann mentioned: "She seemed to bug me so much about it! Every five minutes! 'I'm okay!' I told her. But she didn't let up." The very act of exposing oneself leaves one vulnerable. While one individual's intent may be to enhance the other's becoming, the other person may see this as a threat if they are not open at that moment to the dialogue of the inbetween.

This grasping of the full I-You relationship was not realized simultaneously by all exchange partners, nor in some cases by one or either of the partners. This became evident in Diane's situation in which her exchange partner stressed the desire to maintain her existing friendships with Quebec students rather than entering an I-You relationship with Diane. For example, whenever they did not have to be in a designated group, Diane's exchange partner would rush over to her friends. In these circumstances, Diane and her partner related in a host-guest relationship in which role definitions predominated as a basis for interaction. As such, Diane provided accomodation and information, but they did not develop a deeper sense of each other apart from their roles. Consequently, feelings of intimacy did not develop. However, this situation did not lead to animosity either. Instead, Diane sought to establish relations with other members of the group. Drawing on nature, we likewise realize that not all flowers bloom at once. Yet, given the right combination of circumstances each flower in time can share its beauty. Frustrating as the realization was, participants recognized that we cannot form another being to our own liking. Further, they realized that when the other being is not what we would like him or her to be, we cannot disregard the other. As one participant wrote: "I learned to enjoy people's company more and to get along with others better even if I don't particularly like them."

Participants experienced the dynamic movement between the two spheres of the I-It and I-You. This movement made demands on the participants' psychological energy creating part of the hectic pace associated with the exchange. As the I-You relationship ran its course or was permeated by means, the You became "an object among objects, possibly the noblest one and yet one of them" (Buber, 1970, p. 68). Participants intuitively realized this and rushed to capture the relationship in pictures. They anticipated that at a future date the pictures would assist in bringing into presence the reality that was the relationship. However, the pictures were not the relationship. They were able to re-mind the participants of their relationship experiences, but the realm of the inbetween itself is difficult to grasp and hold.

Growth in Self-Understanding

Prior to the exchange both Ann and Tom discussed their own grappling with the question "Who am I becoming?" Definition of self was increasingly made by distancing themselves from identification with family members. Ann explored this relationship in our dialogue:

> Teenagers seem to grow away from their families. Like my Mom and I use to do lots of things together. I use to stay home and do crafts, and my mom use to think of ideas and go, "What do you want to do?" Now she takes a day off, like at Easter vacation, and says, "What do you want to do?"
>
> "Oh I kind of planned to go to the park with Linda and Heather." Then she gets upset.
>
> "Fine you can do whatever you want. I'll just do my thing!"
>
> In that instance, I start getting mad too, right? I go, "Fine!" Now I can sit here and go: "I'm sorry mom. Maybe next week." But I can never say that then.

As distance appears to grow, the dependency on parents lessens while the peer group's responses become increasingly important in defining their personhood. In facing the trials of the exchange, some students would return to the safety and security of their own group where each situation was not problematic. As they felt at home in the new life-world situations, they could increasingly wean themselves from this dependency.

Successful involvement in dialogue and intersubjective situations fostered this development. The participants began to realize that they could survive utilizing their own resources. Especially during the second week, students were more willing to select activities which took place in smaller groups. For example, one participant described a day at her exchange partner's cabin: "We had lots of time to ourselves to talk, to get caught up on the gossip. I felt more relaxed. I even tried using more of my French!" This growing sense of self-confidence and self-reliance fostered a growing feeling of maturity.

From the relationship experience, the students gained a deeper sense of themselves and who they were. Referring to this process, Sadler (1969) states: "One's sense of identity even in adolescence comes as a gift from within the historical encounter with another" (p. 328). Moving away from home, the participants had to face the challenge of making more decisions on their own: How should I spend my money? Should I take a drink at the party? How do I work up enough nerve to ask Marie to dance? As well, the communication through dialogue provided participants a further vantage point from which to view themselves and their life-world. For example, one student observed more outward expressions of feelings in her host family: "They would kiss each other every time they left the house. There was a lot more hugging. At first I felt uncomfortable, but then I got more use to it." This experience made her look reflectively at her own expression of emotion. Personal transformation became a possibility and a reality.

This change in horizons became more apparent on return to their home situtation at which time one participant commented, "My groups of friends have changed because we don't have the same interests any more." When re-entering their home life-world, the participants found it difficult to portray their adventure as while they were away, the life-worlds of their families and friends continued. They had not undergone the same experience. However, participants returned looking through different lens so their home life-world now appeared in a new light. For many there was an intensified appreciation of their own life-worlds. One student commented: "I didn't realize how much we had here--climate, mountains, sea. I was even anxious to see my younger brother!"

This growth in maturity was further promoted with the perceived change in the role played by the teachers during the exchange program. Ann's comments illustrate this outlook: "On the exchange they were friendly. They weren't teachers anymore. They were just guides. You would ask them a question. Otherwise, they were just the same as us. But now they're back to a higher level. They're 'teaching' now: 'You listen to us!" As a guide, the teachers gave advice and responded to student's needs as expressed in questions raised to deal with genuine needs. Teachers were viewed as co-learners, co-discovers. As such, the students felt they were given more opportunities to make decisions and to accept responsibility.

As demonstrated in the participants' suggestion to extend time spent in the exchange program and in the intensity they felt in the flow of time, the participants realized that their knowledge was incomplete, and that they had not come to fully understand the other. By so doing, they realized the nature of human finitude as demonstrated in their grasping of the "illusion that everything can be reversed, that there is always time for everything and that everything somehow returns" (Gadamer, 1982, p. 320). While sharing experiences during the exchange, the participants came to recognize their common humanity which formed a unifying bond. There was an intensified feeling that each person was not alone. Difficulties were encountered and risks taken in the face-to-face relationships out of which grew a

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sense of being through an experience together. Through the struggle to come to know another being the participants grew to more fully understand themselves. They realized that they were returning home as different individuals. They had changed in the process.

Development of the We-Relation

Introduction

> Co-ordinators describe the success and failure of the exchanges in social terms. They speak of groups that do or do not "come together". (Hannan et al., 1980, p. 92)

Plate 11

Both the participants' written statements and comments during interviews were infused with a growing use of the term "we". Relationships were a prime interest and concern. Utilizing Schutz's

(1970) concept of the "we-relation" assists in coming to an understanding of this aspect of the exchange experience.

Basic to Schutz's concept of the we-relation is his "general thesis of the alter ego's existence", that is, the experiencing of the other's stream of consciousness in the vivid present through which I analogously establish my own consciousness. In this prepredicative experience, the other is recognized as a fellow human being. Where this recognition of the presence of the other is reciprocal, then the partners are aware of each other in the form of the "pure We" (Schutz, 1970). Likewise, Buber (1970) states that only individuals "who are capable of truly saying Thou to one another can truly say We with one another" (p. 176).

This type of relationship flowed during shared direct experiences such as the parties, discussions on the bus, and sports activities. One student's description of a group sing-along illustrates this process: "I really enjoyed it when the whole bus was shaking with our voices. It was interesting hearing everyone sing together. Their French accents didn't make any difference. We just enjoyed ourselves singing all together." Activities such as this helped to form the we-relation. The actual content of the we-relation varied with personal and situational circumstances. For example, different levels of intimacy and anonimity were displayed in the romantic relationship between Jeff and Marie, than between Tom and his more distant exchange partner, Guy.

As an observer, it was possible to infer this we-relation from the actions of the participants. As a participant, I could join in the activities and later reflect upon my own experiences. Discussions with students and an analysis of their written comments allowed me to grasp their interpretation of the we-relation. However, before the participants themselves could comment on the we-relation, they had to step out of the livedness of the we-relation and reflect upon its nature.

Two main questions will be considered in the following section: What was the nature of the we-relation in the exchange experience? and What fostered the growth of this sense of we-ness?

The Security of Their School Group as a "Home Base"

Discussions with Ann and Tom pointed to a development of the we-relation within the B.C. group prior to their meeting with the Quebec students. Some students had joined the exchange program so as to continue engaging in an ongoing we-relation with existing friends. Likewise, the co-ordinators realized the importance of group cohesion in the selection process as they considered the applicant's ability to "get along in a group". Although the participants intended to accomplish various projects, they were united in their common goals: to plan for the sharing of their life-world and to engage in the life-world of the Quebec students. Through the different meetings, planning sessions, and especially through the actual activities of fund raising and the associated personal interaction, the students grew to know each other further as individuals within the environment of their particular social setting. Working towards common goals necessitated co-operative action. For example, in their car washing event, the students joined together to solve a common task. Tom referred to the sense of accomplishment that grew out of involvement in this project.

After the meeting of the two groups in the face-to-face environment of the exchange, each group's own respective school participants continued to provide a "home base" and support system. Ann illustrated this point when explaining the importance of the home group: "At first it was more paranoia to be just the two together. So you said, 'Okay, we're going to a party!' so you could be with a group." The familiarity of the home group provided a sense of security in which typifications could go unquestioned. As they felt more comfortable, the participants were more willing to branch out from their home base in order to further expand the we-relation. This home base also provided a sanctuary for those students who were experiencing difficulties with their exchange partner. For example, Debra, whose partner often separated from her, returned to her B.C. group for advice and interaction which enabled her to enjoy the overall experience of the exchange. Thus, especially at the beginning of the program, the participants' own school group provided a home away from home, a sanctuary from the questioning look of the other.

Coming to Dwell in Another Life-world

Prior to an actual meeting, the participants saw each other as objectified beings. This situation led me to recall an episode, in another exchange program that I was involved in, in which the students were huddled together in the bus reluctant to cross the street to where the other group of students anxiously waited. In the bus the students yelled: "Let's go home!", "I'm afraid to get out.", and "What if they don't like us?" In this situation, as in the present exchange, the "other" students were originally defined as "they". While in-group members were portrayed as concrete individuals, "they" were defined as an abstract mass whose characteristics or typifications were based on objectified knowledge rather than subjective experience. When the exchange participants came together in face-to-face situations, intersubjective action was called for. Schutz (1970) speaks of this subjective knowing: "I can live in your subjective meaning-contexts only to the extent that I directly experience you within an actualized content-filled We-relationship" (p. 188). The exchange experience created an opportunity for engaging in a common spacial and temporal setting from which grew the recognition of the others as fellow human beings.

This does not mean that each person experienced the exchange at any given moment in the same manner. For example, Ann enthusiastically asked questions during the visit to the pig farm as she had a keen interest in all types of animals. On the other hand, some other students found the smell repugnant and were eager to escape. Individual identities entered the we-relation with their own system of relevances, but in their joint participation involved in meeting new experiences was the realization that other beings were engaged in a process of exploration as well. This is reflected in the participants' struggle with language as revealed in one student's comment, "You realize other people have problems speaking a different language just like you!" Dealing with a common issue developed a bond, a sense of belonging together. In this simultaneous sharing of an experience, two beings were brought together in relation. As Schutz writes, they "grow old together" (1970, p. 187) as common issues are faced.

This perception of a common temporality was stressed in the students' "twenty-four hour" time commitment which allowed little private, personal time. Their major emphasis was on the livedness of the moment and on the bringing of recent events of the exchange into the present. When students proclaimed, "We had a 'great time' at the swimming party," they signified having experienced a shared temporality. Events prior to the exchange could be discussed but not shared in this same sense of having lived through them together. Future dreams and hopes could be expressed and shared, but it was the immediate shared present of the exchange experiences which was the priority. Homework and the missed school classes were pushed out of the immediate time frame. Instead, the dealing with the immediate encounters was of primary importance. This concentration on the present gave the sensation of time rushing frantically by as one participant pointed out, "It seems they just got here yesterday, and already they have to leave!"

Part of this subjective search focussed around the question: "In what ways are they like me?" This was a search to establish a common base on which to develop a we-relation. Outside the face-to-face relation, differences can be, and often are, emphasized. However, if the other person was considered totally different, then there would be no grounds on which to meet, to relate. In this situation the participants would be like two strangers standing on either side of an abyss. However, as in conversation where the interlocutors attempt to find a common topic for discussion, the exchange participants sought to gain an understanding of each other's personal biography. Although an individual's biography reflects his or her social and cultural environment, the students interpreted this as the unfolding of the specificity of the other individual.

The prerequisites of common space and time do not in and of themselves ensure a positive, co-operative we-relation. For example, two individuals in the roles of guard and prisoner in a jail system could be in the same proximity, yet never develop a positive we-relation. As adverseries, these beings are strangers who face each other in confrontation, rather than co-operatively sharing space and time. While the exchange program fostered opportunities for subjective knowing to grow, not all exchange participants were equally able to foster this development with their exchange partner.

Searching for Common Relevances

In the face-to-face environment of the exchange, the participants could grasp the others' interests, motives, plans, and hopes through their words and gestures. When Tom asked Guy if he wanted to see the show at the planetarium, Tom knew instantly the answer was "yes" by the enthusiasm transmitted in Guy's eager posture and the gleam in his eyes. Within the ongoingness of this interaction, the participants continually witnessed and were involved in understanding how "in-order-to motives" triggered corresponding "because motives" in the other (Schutz, 1970, p. 194). For example, Roger was continually asking questions in order to increase his fluency in French. Because of this situation, his exchange partner became more aware of the language patterns in his own French language.

This is not to say that each motive was interpreted as intended. However, the face-to-face nature of the situation enabled each person to attempt to verify their perceptions through further observation and dialogue. Through so doing, a participant could gain a deeper understanding of the other's system of relevances. By grasping the other's motivational interests, a basis for dialogue could be fostered, activities could be planned, and intersecting interests could form a bond. Likewise, an awareness of thematic relevances helped the participants to gain access to each other's life-worlds. Determining common or conflicting definitions of issues enabled students to attempt to deal with problems that arose. For example, one student attributed the source of the problem of coming together as due to the aloofness of his exchange partner whereas the other student saw the outgoing nature of the other as dominating the relationship. Dialogue allowed further subjective knowledge to surface so that issues could be faced and dealt with. Sorting this out involved a process of accomodation, a mutual coming together.

Within the bounds of the we-relation, the participants sought to match their stock of knowledge with the flow of their new experiences. By so doing, some mutual relevances were recognized. From her observations and involvement in Jacqueline's life-world, Ann concluded:

> Just because they live somewhere different, it doesn't mean that it's different. Everybody goes to school. They had a bit longer to get to classes. They had a bigger cafeteria. Otherwise, it was similar. The homes, the houses, were just the same. They acted the same except maybe they had a bit more respect for their elders. They showed more affection. Otherwise, everything seemed the same. Like, if you were going down the street and you didn't hear anything, and you look--it looks the same!

Thus, the applicability of her stock of knowledge was expanded by having the same knowledge appropriately apply in what was at first seen as a different life-world. In some cases adjustments were also called for as when she judged the Quebec students as being more outwardly affectionate. In this situation there was a recognition that each person needs affection but that it may be demonstrated in different ways. By recognizing common relevances and deciding to "join in" on activities, the students demonstrated their willingness to share the present face-to-face life-world experience with their partner and thus to make it a common experience.

Sharing Common Concerns

Within the deepening we-relation and its associated emphasis on the present livedness of the experience, common bonds were considered more important than group differences. For example, the students realized that they each had to become accustomed to patterns of life in the other's home: moods of family members, eating customs at the table, use of the television, and others. They were united by the fact that they had to face similar issues although the actual expectation and response could vary. One of Ann's experiences exemplifies this perception:

> Their meals were changed around. They eat a huge meal for

> lunch. For me, I eat a very small lunch. Then I usually eat a bigger dinner. But theirs is totally switched around. I'd get home and they had put a roast in the oven. A chicken! Once we had a turkey, potatoes, salad, bread, and vegetables. Bigger dinner than I would eat at home! I gained weight when I went there! It wasn't different food but just different time and quantity.

Although direct participation in each other's school system was limited to part of a day, the students realized through their dialogue that similar issues were shared such as making friends at school, dealing with the pressure of homework, and relating to authority. By recognizing these and other shared issues, their we-relation deepened. Although common issues were faced, the students at the same time acknowledged varied responses to these issues on the part of individual Quebec students as they did within their own group. For example, the B.C. School participants acknowledged and accepted that Roger took risks in experimenting with French while Doug was hesitant and only spoke when he was very self-confident. Likewise, they could accept that Louise could confidently interpret for the other French speaking students while Jean smiled more frequently than he spoke. Within this effort to deal with common issues, the uniqueness of the other as an individual was recognized.

Sharing a Common Youth Culture

Out of this search for a common meeting ground grew an awareness of the compatability of their life-worlds. This portrayal was not based on the specific characteristics of their French or non-French backgrounds, but as being reflective of common interests, joys, and difficulties growing out of living in a common youth culture within a Canadian context. For example, the world of heroes and heroines as reflected in T.V. shows and movies was shared. A Michael Jackson T-shirt or his latest song were recognized by each person irrespective of group membership. Similarly, the dilemmas involved in male-female relationships were mutually recognized. Tom described an incident which both demonstrates this aspect and his ability to understand the reciprocity of perspectives:

> One boy thought this metal stand was fastened to the ground. So he grabbed it and went smack on the ground. The thing went up and over him. I felt sorry for him because here he is with his girlfriend and he's kind of showing off. . . . I think he was just trying to prove to himself and to his girlfriend that he was alright.

The types of activities that they enjoyed reflected the orientation of their age group. When touring such facilities as the university and town office, it was not the architecture or the political nature of the facility that was considered relevant. Rather, the students enjoyed the ongoing activities in these facilities such as watching the athletes lift weights or the computer operator locating information. Further, the students particularly enjoyed those activities that they could be actively involved in such as swimming, shopping, and dancing. This aspect was shown by the students rush to use the video games during the ferry ride to Victoria. These and other events took them out of a passive role and gave them a determining role in the activity.

As the we-relation developed, the participants realized that they shared some common concerns: How can I gain acceptance in the group? How can I avoid becoming embarrassed? When will my parents give me more responsibility? Their age and place in society created a bond between them as they realized that they were facing some common issues.

Intertwining of Biographies

The direct face-to-face interaction confronted the participants with decisions to be made and emotions to be dealt with. Through involvement in the various planned and unstructured experiences, the students' biographies began to intertwine. Each new concrete experience offered further opportunites for questioning the other's interpretive schemes, and checking hypotheses in the "interlocking of glances, this thousand-faceted mirroring of each other" (Schutz, 1970, p. 192). This allowed an ongoing revision of the participant's views of the other which contributed a dynamic nature to the experience. Their perceptions increasingly focussed on the other's specific similarities and differences rather than group typifications. Thus, exchange participants were not referred to as the French students but as Jacqueline and Louis.

In their encounters the students formed personalized sketches such as: Jacques liked to tease others with his pranks, Madeleine was quiet but opened up when you asked her questions about skiing, and Gabriel loved to drink coke and seven-up mixed together. Consequently, the Quebec students were considered unique individuals just as the B.C. participants considered their own group members. Recognizing this, the participants began to react to the others in ways specifically related to their knowledge of the others' biographies as reflected in the others' personalities. Thus, while it was appropriate to tease Jacques about his English pronunciation, Madeleine had to be encouraged with praise to maintain a conversation.

In this sharing, ongoing questions concerning the individuality of the other were explored: Why is my exchange partner afraid to walk across the swinging bridge? What kind of food does he/she like? Which boy/girl does he/she like? What kind of mood is he/she like in the morning after five hours of sleep? Each new experience brought their worlds closer together as they found out more about the other's personal biography as revealed in their shared episodes. This process is revealed in Ann's description of her arrival in Quebec:

> Jacqueline came to meet us in Montreal rather than waiting until we reached her home town. That's when she told me that her dad was going to be there. Then I was stupid, I asked, "Where was he?" because I thought he was working here or somewhere. She told me that he had problems. He was crazy so he was in a hospital. So I was really scared. I'm going, "Oh no! This guy's from the mental place! What am I going to do?" Ended up, I liked him best of all. But I was scared then. I was thinking, "Oh my god! I have to live in this house with this mental person!"

Ann became aware of issues that Jacqueline and her family were dealing with. The intersubjective nature of the exchange meant she had to deal with this issue as well. By so doing, Jacqueline's biography became intertwined with her own.

When encountering the other's individual uniqueness, there was no guarantee that the relationship would be smooth. Some qualities of the exchange partner may have emerged that were viewed negatively by the other. For example, Tom spoke earlier of Guy's self-centeredness which meant that he did not always consider Tom's interests when deciding on activities. However, as they were living together in close proximity, they had to deal with issues that had immediate consequences. Thus, Tom learned to concentrate on his interest in the tours in order to increase his personal knowledge of Quebec while giving Guy his space to enjoy the tours in his own way. This was at first frustrating as he felt they should do everything together. As Tom's situation points out, individuals could no longer just talk about what they would do under a particular set of circumstances; a praxis was required.

Participating in Common Activities

During the exchange program, the majority of the participants' time was spent in the organized activities and in the unstructured social activities. Whether called for or not, participants tended to gather in small groups and tour the sights, especially at the beginning of the exchange. A group situation provided more security as assistance in interaction could be gained from others in the group. Consequently, each person did not continually have to experience the sensation of being under the questioning look of the other.

Many of the tour activities such as the tour of a lumber mill were new to both the hosts and the guests. Consequently, expansion of their biographic experiences grew from the same event; the newness was shared. Even when there was a dislike for the organized tours this very dislike could be a basis for sharing. For example, one student was heard saying: "That government person sure talked a lot. Boring, eh?" With raised eyebrows, the partner signalled mutual disinterest in the speech.

However, it was during the social activities in the evenings and through the social interaction during and in between the organized events that the participants developed the strongest sense of a common world. This was evident during their free time on one tour when some students showed their partners the record and T-shirt stores in the malls. When picking out records from the top ten, the participants recognized their common interests. In this realm their actions and thoughts determined the direction and formation of events. Thus, this world was not determined for them by the organizers, but as a result of their joint involvement and decisions, a common environment was recognized. Schutz's (1970) words describe the students' environment aptly: "The world of the We is not private to either of us but is one world, the one common intersubjective world which is right there in front of us" (p. 193).

This we-relation was fostered through the freedom of choice most evident in the social activities. One student's description of a party in Quebec demonstrates this:

> There was lots of things to choose from at the party. About five minutes away from the house, there was this big huge--like gravel field. A whole bunch of people went there together. The rest were at the house playing tag and all sorts of other games. There were lots of places to go. You were free. You didn't have to stay in any particular space.

While the tours were selected on the basis of the organizers' concerns and goals, the social gatherings provided a selection of activities to choose from centered upon young peoples' interests. Such activities as watching the football game, swimming, badminton in the backyard, impromptu wrestling matches, and dancing in the recreation room catered to their interests. The choice of activities allowed the participants to associate with others who had similar interests. There was a recognition of sameness by nature of being involved in the same social event, yet differences were recognized in the particular activities chosen and engaged in by the participants. By recognizing themselves in another and the other in themselves, the other person became less strange and they less estranged. Through this process a sense of common humanity developed.

However, this common world did not always represent the stream of their usual daily life cycle of activities. For example, a large portion of their average day would have normally been spent within the school classroom which was not the case during the exchange. Likewise, in choosing activities for their free time the students did not try to represent their normal weeknight activities which would have involved such events as completing homework and watching televison. Instead, there was a urge to fill the allotted time with as many of the enjoyable highlights of their life-world as possible. It was this stepping out of the daily life routine which gave the experience the character of an adventure.

Coming to Feel at Home

The exchange experience opened the participants' homes to invited guests. As the guests and hosts began to known each other as specific individuals, they opened their homes to reveal their life-worlds more fully. Tom spoke of this feeling of being at home: "At first I felt uncomfortable, but after awhile I got to know the family better. They didn't bother me when I saw them. It didn't surprise me. I felt--I've been here." There was a coming to know the other's dwelling sphere partly through concrete images such as the family pictures hanging above the piano, the swimming trophies on the bedroom chester of drawers, and the worn but comfortable rocking chair. Thus, Tom became more familiar with this new setting and the lives of the people therein. Due to the scheduling of events, Tom felt that he had a greater amount of time in Guy's home than Guy had in his which allowed Tom to feel more comfortable, more at home. Speaking of this matter, Tom explained:

> I guess my only complaint, and for my parents too, is that I would have liked to have been at home more. When we went home, we'd be all tired, and then the family would all come around us and start interrogating us. You know I don't think they should have. It should have been more natural: "Oh, how are you doing Guy? Did you have a good day?" Then he could have learned more English. But we were in and out of the house just like that!

Tom realized for a stranger to feel at home in new surroundings, time was necessary for intersubjective relations to take place and to grow. Time was needed to determine the others' relevances and to allow for their biographies to intertwine. This experience of being at home was not restricted to a physical place but was also an expression of feeling comfortable with another being. This familiarity was based on an intimacy which recognizes the other as a separate being, an individual with a specific identity. It is an experience of moving from the relationship of strangers, as the participants were at the beginning of the exchange, to that of a reciprocal I-You relation or we-relation. Tom's description also reveals the notion of dialogue as an opening up and offering to the other which is hospitality. Levinas (1969, p. 14) discusses this aspect, "By speaking with the other I enter into relation with him". Tom recognized that more time and opportunities were required for Guy to feel further at home.

Tom's example indicates that by knowing another's dwelling sphere, a participant is able to better understand the other. It is in this sense that Levinas (1969) states that "the objective world is situated by relation to my dwelling" (p. 153). Through dialogue, the other exposes or reveals his or her dwelling. For example, Ann's discussions with her exchange partner revealed Jacqueline's desire to obtain a university education which Ann could see growing out of the atmosphere created by her mother who was a school teacher. Thus, students indicated that through the exchange experience, they now had a better sense of "where their exchange partner was coming from". Understanding gained through dialogue permitted an individual to place himself or herself in the place of the other which Levinas calls "substitution". By so doing, a persons comes to dwell in the life or home of another.

Intersubjective action with the other participants also led to a questioning of the participants' own dwelling points. Feeling comfortable with the ways of others made some participants question the appropriateness of their own ways as in Ann's situation where she began to wonder if being more openly affectionate would be beneficial. In other situations, the participants came to appreciate their own life-world more as the following student's comment points out: "I use to think where I lived was an awful place to live. It's not! It's windy. It's cloudy but--I use to not respect where I live, but now I do."

This coming to know, and to subsequently feel at home with another being, grew out of an understanding of both the other's similarities and differences gained by comparing the other's dwelling point to their own. Ann described an evening when this was examined:

> Part of one evening we had a dance. They have a weird--they have a dance for every kind of music they have. They have

> these folk songs, but we didn't know how to dance. They have these competitions. The winners get a thing of maple syrup. They dance to any kind of music. Not us! You know how we have our music. We don't dance to anything else.

As the evening progressed, the students began to be more accustomed to seeing the other students dancing by themselves and in various groups. Their fears began to lessen and they accepted invitations from the Quebec students to join the dancing. Coming face-to-face with a different approach to social interaction, the B.C. students realized that their own orientation in this situation inhibited their participation and enjoyment. Through a process of comparison, the B.C. students became more aware of their own social customs. Elise pointed out: "Our kids realized the standards in this situation. This is the usual here and I'm the one who is different. I'm the one who has not got the right or appropriate value in this case." This episode demonstrates that we do not need a mirror image of ourselves in order to feel at home with another, but we do need a sense of familiarity with the other and their dwelling.

Coming to feel at home with another participant enhanced the impact of the experience as one exchange student in another program emphasized:

> Our Malaysian parents are incredible! They adopt us: I've got a father and mother and brothers and sisters and cousins. The first day they treat you like a king, the second day like a prince and the third day you're part of the family for good; and on the last day you feel like crying--and sometimes you do. (Herbert, 1976, p. 52)

Conclusion

The development of a we-relation was a critical aspect of the exchange experience. Participants faced an immediate common issue which was the need to familiarize themselves with the other's life-world and to assist their partner's entry into their respective life-worlds. To the degree that there was a common commitment to deal with these issues based on genuine interaction and consequent risk taking, individuals revealed their being and were willing to engage in the process of becoming (Rake, 1970, p. 168). During these intersubjective relationships, masks were dropped as they reciprocally opened and shared their life-worlds. Similarly, the participants were joined in creating a new common life-world in their face-to-face relations. It was this "being available to the other; being there with the other and for the other . . . responding in a fundamental reciprocity" (Buckley, 1971, p. 208) which established the we-relation. Together the participants engaged in a mutual life-world of experience in which there was a "tying together of past, present and future into a social now" (Cox, 1973, p. 141).

Engaging in the adventure of the face-to-face we-relation encouraged the participants to become more aware of their own horizons of meaning in their constant search to understand the horizons of the others. The other's ongoing questioning of their motives encouraged the participants to open their eyes so as to widen their horizons. Consequently, their ideas were challenged and reinterpreted in an ongoing process. Involved in the immediacy of this interaction was a desire to see where their horizons overlapped. This does not mean that they became one, but that they tried to understand each other's point of view. Both of their perspectives were filled with meaning

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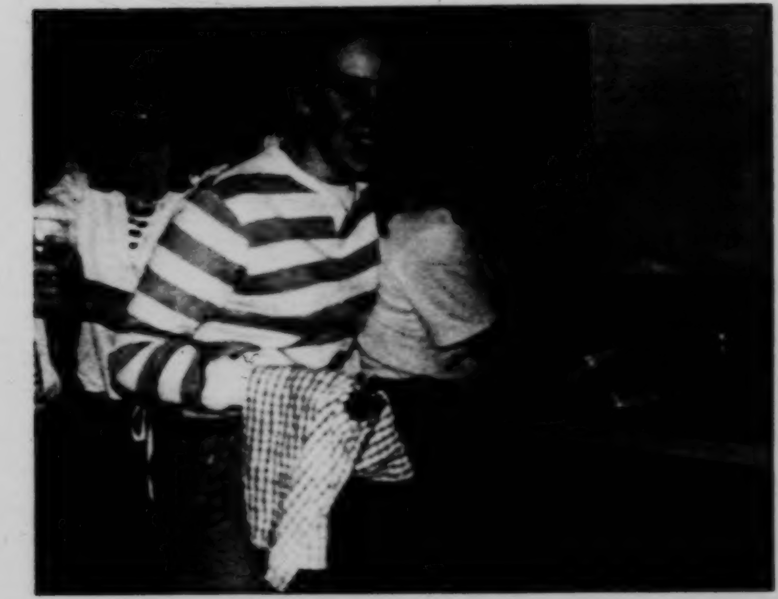
but not necessarily the same meaning. As participants sought to understand the other's intentions, the other became less a stranger and more a co-creater. A new world was created in the realm of the we.

Friendship: A Deepening of the We-Relation

The only way to have a friend is to be one. (Emerson, 1891)

Plate 12



This picture re-presents the spoken and unspoken moments of friendship during the exchange in which the participants displayed a coming to know each other. Looking at this picture, I hear Ann's words floating back: "I was surprised how quickly we got to know each other! I hope we stay in touch." This sense of touching and being touched are portrayed in Jacqueline's arm drawing Ann into her personal sphere. This gesture seems to say: "I care. I care for the individual that you are." A sense of togetherness comes through the photographic capturing of their collective activity. What under other circumstances would have been considered a chore became an enjoyable experience flowing out of a mutuality with the other. Ann and other students emphasized that the exchange was an experience in which strangers became new friends. This is reflected in one participant's description of the parting scene: "When we left, it was really sad. I cried because I thought I might never see them again!" What was the meaning of these friendships which developed during the exchange experience?

Opening to the Other

Opportunities for Opening to the Other

The degree and intensity of relationships varied among the participants. An individual could be friendly but not close friends with all other participants. Tom explained his position:

> I felt like being friends to everybody. But there were people I looked at and just didn't like right from the start. There were only a couple of people. Most of them were really happy, smiling all the time. But my favorite person other than my billet . . . was Louis, my billet's friend.

Tom's statement concerning friends points out that participants often intuitively formed their relationships. Time was limited and decisions were made early in the program. As Tom's situation also shows, an exchange partner's previous friendship patterns in his/her Quebec group affected who the B.C. students developed friendships with. This was also evidenced in Ann's case where Jacqueline's best friend also became her good friend. In other cases affiliation within the B.C. group affected who became new friends. Thus, the direct personal contact needed for friendship to grow was often promoted through existing friendship circles.

Participants stressed that a willingness to "open up" and an opportunity for this willingness to unfold were essential for the development of friendship. This process entailed a sharing of past events and present experiences. This was initially approached with curiosity and caution as expressed in the particpants' concerns prior to their first meeting over their ability to "get along" and to "be liked" by their exchange partners. One exchange participant described an early experience in the exchange as follows: "A couple of friends and I were at a party and we decided instead of partying downstairs just to talk. We talked about 'beaucoup' things. And I began to open up more to the Quebec kids." As the degree of intimacy increased, a willingness grew to share personal "secrets". For example, during discussions with Jacqueline, Ann began to talk about her parent's divorce and the ensuing closeness that developed between her and her mother. This encounter required a struggle in order to bring out her inner experience. As one participant in another exchange program pointed out, "It meant coming out of my shell--being hurt--but overall, I honestly believe that I have become more open-minded and a better person" (Herbert, 1976, p. 121). In this type of relationship, an individual becomes freer to be who she or he is. Anxieties and expectations are lessened as masks are removed resulting in the freedom to reveal oneself.

In this sense the participants spoke of growing to feel more

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comfortable with one another. At first the moments of silence in their encounters were times of prolonged agony with each second occupying a lengthy time span. As their friendships grew, these silent moments were not dreaded but cherished. Tom experienced such a moment when he and Guy stood gazing at the spectacle of the evening stars. Both were aware of the other's presence and aware that they were sharing that moment in time. Even though they had different specific thoughts concerning the image before them, they were united in sharing a common experience.

This quest for a sense of togetherness underlied their choices of social events in the evenings and private times with their billets as their favourite moments during the exchange. This was not because of their lack of desire to expand their knowledge. On the contrary, it was because they did want to gain further personal and social understanding through experiences that they enjoyed the opportunity to explore their relationships with other individuals.

Plate 13

The "unstructured" activities, such as the swimming party captured in Plate 13, allowed the participants to pursue their goal of developing friends. Utilizing beach balls, some students initiated competitive games in which challenges were good naturedly proclaimed, "See if you've got the strength to throw the ball down this end!" Other students treaded water as they discussed the latest hockey game or their favourite rock video. These activities provided an opportunity for participants to share an enjoyable experience and enhanced the opportunities to express their personal viewpoints in an opening to the other. It was their own interactions which determined the flow of the experience.

On the other hand, the organized tours limited their ability to engage in social interaction as they tended to be passive, observation situations such as listening to a guide describe the legislative process or watching a film on Vancouver harbour facilities. Realizing this, the participants also utilized the time "inbetween" organized events to focus on interpersonal relations. What would sometimes appear as an insignificant situation would provide opportunities for coming to know the other. For example, while waiting for a conducted tour of the municipal offices, two participants were observed teasing a third individual by throwing his package of flash cubes back and forth. The smiling faces displayed an enjoyment in the game. Reactions were called for in the game which allowed participants to gain further access to the personhood of the other with respect to the other's willingness to take risks, to take a joke, to co-operate, and to voice an opinion.

"Taming" the Other

In their initial period of acquaintanceship, each exchange partner endeavoured to gain an understanding of the other's biography as one student's comment illustrates: "The best incident was the first night when my billet and I really got to know each other. We talked and found out a lot of stuff about each other. It was neat knowing who I'd be spending the rest of the week with." For these two participants and others, there was an almost instant recognition of the other as an individual who they could open themselves to freely. In this process of interacting in their here and now, the students attempted to expand their stock of knowledge concerning the other individual's interests, values, and experiences. The intent was to gain generalized knowledge but more importantly to understand the details of their friend's specific uniqueness such as the way he or she expressed joy or communicated disagreement. This process is illustrated by a discussion in the book The Little Prince (De Saint-Exupery, 1945) in which the fox asks the prince to tame him, that is, to establish ties with him:

> "To me, you are still nothing more than a little boy who is just like a hundred thousand other little boys. And I have no need of you. And you, on your part have no need of me. To you, I am nothing more than a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But if you tame me, then we shall need each other. To me, you will be unique in the world. To you, I shall be unique in all the world. . . ."
>
> "What must I do, to tame you?" asked the little prince.
>
> "You must be very patient," replied the fox. . . . "You will sit a little closer to me, every day." (pp. 64, 65)

By taming another being, we move from perceiving the other through general, impersonal typifications as in the case of the stranger to understanding the specific uniqueness of the other gained through encounter situations. In this respect Tom began to appreciate Guy's sense of humour as their contact increased. Tom laughed when he remembered Guy's repeated comment with regards to the touring, "I will loose ten pounds!" This is not to suggest that this process of moving closer to another being in the exchange was without difficulties. In addition to the problems of misunderstanding created by language differences, doubts existed as to how much the students initially felt free to reveal. For example, Guy did not become relaxed and willing to share his experiences until the second week. Prior to this, Tom found him distant. Yet in the limited time shared, each new experience added another brush stroke to their evolving personal portraits. With each new day the bonds or ties of friendship grew.

Within these bonds of friendship opportunities arose to exercise the freedom to voice once private thoughts and feelings. This was demonstrated during a conversation between two girls just prior to a museum tour. They drew closer to each other physically as they talked about one boy who in their opinion was "showing off". One girl confided in her friend: "Bill does dumb things sometimes like wrestling just to get your attention. I like him, but I wish he wouldn't do some things like that." This sharing aspect is captured in Emerson's definition of a friend as "a person with whom I may be sincere. Before him I may think aloud" (cited in James & Savary, 1976, p. 73).

While engaging in the process of taming or coming closer to another being as friend, the participants endeavoured to see how they were the same as, or different from, their new friends. Rubin (1980) states that we are "attracted to strangers in proportion to values we have in common. That is to people who are like ourselves in certain fundamental ways" (p. 116). During the exchange, participants discovered that their new friends enjoyed some of the same social activities such as dancing, that they too became frustrated with a limited amount of sleep, that they found talking and sharing ideas exciting, and that family relations were important. However, even if it were possible for two beings to be identical, there would be little need for two such individuals to be friends. It would be like the self-made person worshiping his/her creator. Consequently, there was also a search for "complementarity--a fit between two people in which each brings something distinctive to the relationship and in which, as a result, each can learn something from the other" (Rubin, 1980, p. 71). This search for complementarity came through Ann's friendship with Jacqueline in which she grew to appreciate Jacqueline's sense of independence from the group. Ann herself was wrestling with this issue in her relationships as she felt a strong need to be with a group. She was concerned with the expectations that the group placed on her. On the other hand, Jacqueline participated in group activities but also felt comfortable branching out from the group. This constant interplay of similarities and differences encouraged the expanding of the participants' horizons and a quest for a fusion of their horizons.

Growth in the Feeling of Trust

Through this ongoing process of taming or "getting to know" the other individual, ground was laid for further exercising the freedom to open up. This unfolding was made possible through a growing feeling of trust. The participants moved from a contact as strangers in which trust was held in abeyance to interactions where past and present experiences could be shared. In other encounters between strangers, such as in a brief meeting on an airplane flight, there can be an initial opening up and revealing based on the assumptions that the other person knows little of one's biography and that further contact in one's life-world with its consequent risks of opening up would be unlikely. As such, there is a revealing not because there is trust built up, but because they can "trust" that they will not meet again. However, the exchange participants realized that they would be reciprocally sharing each other's life-worlds over a period of two weeks.

This opening of their homes to new-comers and exposing their private lives involved a risk and a request for a trusting relationship. Jacqueline demonstrated this when she discussed the difficulties surrounding her father's mental illness. By so doing, she ran the risk of being rejected by Ann. However, it drew them closer together as Ann recognized that she was trusted by Jacqueline. This trust was based on a confident hope that the other being cared for, and was concerned about, her "well-being". Through demonstrating a willingness to open up, trust was extended and the freedom to further explore each other's respective life-worlds was granted. It was like receiving a carefully wrapped birthday gift in which excitement is experienced in discovering what is inside.

The development of this opening in friendship relationships was accelerated by the defined time limits of the exchange program, the increased opportunities for interaction, and the intensity of the interactions themselves. In the normal school term, this trust relationship would have taken a longer period of time to develop. However, the exchange offered a fresh opportunity and challenge for the participants to open their lives to new friends. To meet this challenge, the participants had to be willing to take the risks which came with the vulnerability of opening their lives to the other.

Meeting of Equal Beings

Before the exchange itself, the B.C. students characterized the Quebec students in a positive manner as being similar and of equal worth to themselves. From the outset, exchange partners were seen as potential friends. By contrast, many of the Van School students described Native students utilizing negative stereotypes which dehumanized the Native students. Since Native students were conceived as beings unequal to themselves, they were not considered as potential friends. However, in this exchange the B.C. participants stressed the desire to "make friends" with the Quebec students. Thus, for the participants, friendship needed to be based on a sense of equality. This is exemplified in a poem by Albert Camus entitled "Friends":

> Don't walk in front of me,
> I may not follow.
> Don't walk behind me,
> I may not lead.

Walk beside me,
And just be my friend.

When walking together, experiences are shared and there is a mutual reciprocal sharing in the life of the other. Life is more worthwhile because we share our worlds and beings. This reciprocal sharing is not based on having equal possessions, abilities, or virtues but on the recognition of our equal right to be and to become more fully human.

The development of we-ness in a friendship relationship reduces the distance between two individuals. One participant remarked enthusiastically: "I didn't think we'd end up getting so close. At the end of the first week, we ended up just bugging each other, joking around. Like I thought we'd be friends and everything, but I didn't know that close!" This type of relationship is recognized in the term "close friend". The participants' development of this sense of we-ness did not mean that the I and You were merged into one identity. Rather, within the relationship there was "an intense enjoyable affirmation of uniqueness" (Rake, 1970, p. 164) while recognizing their common humanity. This feeling of mutuality provided "a sense of being at home with another person" (Sadler, 1970, p. 201). Through this coming together and experiencing a feeling of being at home with the other, the participants were able to relax, to be themselves. The anxiety of being alone was transcended. The students felt part of ongoing friendship relationships as equal human beings.

By contrast, strangers are away from their home. They are not "in their home" nor do they "feel at home". By being alone in the immediate world, the stranger is home-less. In the unknown world that has been entered, the stranger cannot say: "I am where I can be myself" (Buckley, 1971, p. 205). Consequently, a stranger does not feel equal to those he or she meets. On the other hand, the exchange participant was wel-comed into the life-world of another being. Space was created in the privacy of the participant's bedroom for his/her exchange partner. While this space was considered off limits to the participant's brothers and sisters, the exchange partner was welcomed as an equal. This is illustrated in the Spanish saying: "Mi cassa es su casa" (My house is your house). This mutual opening furnished a basis for a trusting relationship in which barriers dividing strangers were removed. This, in turn, opened the possibilities for the growth of friendship.

Process of Becoming

Within an atmosphere of trust, the transformation nature of friendship was allowed to come into play. Adolescents especially emphasize this quality of trust as a basis for friendship (Rubin, 1980) as they are going through a particular intense period of questioning of who they are and who they are becoming. Thus, in order to feel free to openly and sincerly engage in the process of becoming, teenagers see trust as a necessity for this process to flourish. Ann described a friend as a person with who she could share her secrets, perceptions, and hopes that she would not feel comfortable or confident in revealing to others. Honesty, loyalty, and discretion were considered important in this sharing process. Thus, when Ann discussed her mother's divorce, she expected Jacqueline to keep this information to herself.

Within a dialectical relationship, friends shape their friendship and their friendship shapes them. A friend is able to call us to become all that we are capable of becoming and, in turn, we have the "capacity to reciprocate this call and to promote the authentic existence" (Rake, 1970, p. 171) of our friend. In his friendship with Louis, Tom ventured out of his loner approach to interaction through entering into dialogue with Louis. He talked with Louis about their future careers, their family relations, and other areas of mutual concern. He also joined Louis in activities such as a badminton game at one of the parties. Through gaining confidence in their friendship relationship, Tom changed as a person.

The nature of this transformation varies with an individual's orientation to friendship. One position on friendship posits a relationship based on two incomplete beings who are made complete by becoming one. This stand is exemplified by Plato who describes a man with a friend as being whole (Bolotin, 1979). This view emphasizes the bonding aspect of friendship but de-emphasizes the individual becoming of the friendship relationship. Once the friendship is accomplished wherein lies the reason for further growth? This viewpoint of friendship as two individuals becoming one was evidenced in a limited manner in the exchange. An example of this orientation occurred when a B.C. student felt that her friendship with another B.C. student was being threatened by a new friendship forming between her friend and a Quebec student. This perception consequently limited the need for friendship to only one other person at a given time. In this type of friendship, two people are seen as becoming like one another.

Another perspective builds on the same interaction of two independent individuals but sees a third self forming through the interrelationship. This relationship can be compared to the playing of a cord on a musical instrument. Notes played individually have their own distinctive sound. When the same notes are played together, a new sound is heard without destroying the individuality of the separate notes. This new sound or relationship has become "a third partner, the living container in which the two individuals face each other through the flow of life" (McWhiter & Mattison, 1984, p. 13). A new living identity emerged based on the betweenness of the friendship relationship as reflected in the participants' references to "making" friends and in their notions of friendship as being "born" and "growing". Participants discussed the notion of "sharing time together" as being necessary for the building of process. Recognizing this, Tom asked Louis to join him playing video games while on the boat trip to Victoria. They cheered each other on as they shared the enjoyment of each other's company. As individuals, they could have played the video games, but as friends the activity had an added dimension, an enjoyment arising out of a being together.

The specific character of this friendship bond varied as to the individuals entering the relationship. An individual could, have several different friendships simultaneously. In each relationship different aspects of a person's being were engaged and brought to life. This was observed in Tom's relationship with Guy in which he tended to be more serious in his comments and acts whereas with Louis, Tom joked more freely.

Within this conception of friendship, there is an exercising of "freedom in the direction of personal development, expanding horizons and actualizing latent potentialites" (Sadler, 1970, p. 203). This transformational aspect of the growth in friendship was demonstrated by one student's noted change in self: "I think I am more open than I used to be. Before I use to do things by myself. Now I seem to want to meet people." This student had gained confidence in dealing with the numerous group encounters in which her social skills of compromise and co-operation were tested. She realized that she could successfully reach out to others in friendship. In other cases students subsequently felt more able to fully relate with existing friends as one student noted, "After the exchange I found I was more tolerant with my friends and I enjoy them a lot more." Friends help us to recognize qualities within ourselves that we were not fully aware of. When we become cognizant of these features, we become transformed and more able to transform the world around us. This became evident following the exchange program when seven of the participants decided to run for positions in their students' council. Meeting the challenges of the exchange program, the students gained self-confidence from which they determined that their actions could make a difference.

In their friendship relations, the participants respected the otherness of their friends. They may have been confused originally by some of their friends' actions as Ann was when Jacqueline wanted to spend time with the teachers, but there was no attempt to mold the other into a particular image. Rather, the other's right to choose in the process of becoming was respected. During this process, friends provided a mirror for each other's thoughts and a testing ground for their ideas as each person explored his or her becoming. This was evident in the relationship of one quiet student, Bill, with his exchange partner. Bill soon discovered that his new friend shared his interest in "Star War" movies which served as a jumping-off point for further sharing in other areas. By sharing an interest and by seeing that his new friend was interested in him as a person, Bill gained confidence in himself and was more willing to take part in group activities. As Sadler (1969) points out: "A friend carries you in his heart and sees the world through your eyes; thus you see yourself through his love" (p. 345).

This ability to explore one's becoming is grounded in the freedom which flowers in a friendship relationship. Looking at the etymology of the word "friend" demonstrates this basis in freedom. Both our modern English words "friend" and "free" grew out of the same Old English word "freo" which meant "free, not in bondage". The friendships formed during the exchange gave the participants a deeper understanding of themselves and the others through the freedom offered in the ongoing process of becoming.

Responsibility for the Well-Being of the Other

Along with the freedom to be and grow in a friendship came a demand for practicing responsibility. De Saint-Exupery (1945) compares the requirements needed to raise a rose to that of developing a friendship. Both situations require a responsible act to ensure their growth and well-being. This feeling of responsibility was first exhibited during the exchange program in the host-guest relationship in which the students as hosts attempted to understand and to meet the needs of their guests. These roles were initially performed without being based on the specificity of the individuals involved. As the relationships grew into ones based on friendship, the sense of responsibility was based not on role expectations but on the mutual willingness to foster the becomingness of the other. Each exchange partner became a guide enabling the other to share in his or her life-world as they moved from the relationship of strangers to that of friends.

Each participant had obstacles to overcome in their initial entry and attempt to understand the life-world of the other individual. At the same time, this situation was recognized as being reciprocal so there was a mutual endeavouring to assist the other person to operate as successfully as possible in the new life-world. This brings to mind the saying: "A friend in need is a friend indeed." This proverb illustrates the recognition of problems to be dealt with and a sense of responsibility for the other. During the exchange, Ann assisted Jacqueline to learn new English words, to meet her existing friends, and to get to events on time. These efforts grew out of a sense of responsibility for Jacqueline. Likewise, Tom spoke of this sense of responsibility that Guy demonstrated:

> I really felt nervous walking through their school--just like a new kid. People looking at you, laughing at you.

> Then this girl came up and started talking really quickly in French and handed me this thing--like a newspaper. It was a good thing my billet, was close by. My billet started talking to her and saying: "No! No! No!" Then it was alright. I guess I might have been able to handle it myself, but it was nice having Guy's help.

When Tom likewise spoke of his own sense of genuinely responding to Guy's needs, he highlights Buber's (1967) concept of responsibility: "I know in the claim I am claimed and may respond in responsibility, and know who speaks and demands a response" (p. 14). This claim on friends to act responsibly towards each other helps to hold together the bond of friendship. This bonding is symbolically shown in ceremonies in which friends' wrists are cut and blood joined. As blood nourishes the body, so do friends have the responsibility to nourish each other's lives.

Within the friendship bonds created during the exchange was a striving to exercise the freedom to become and at the same time an exercising of a responsibility to facilitate the becoming of the other. At times, this meant that friends were called upon to make sacrifices in their relationship. Tom, for example, would have rather gone swimming one afternoon, but he realized that Guy wanted to shop for gifts in a large shopping center. As he felt responsible for Guy's safety, he accompanied him on this excursion. Out of this very sense of "giving up", a stronger friendship was formed. The reciprocal responsibilities of opening one's own life-world to the other and endeavouring to live in the other's life-world were an essential part of the friendship bonds which formed during the exchange.

Caring for the Other

By coming together, by being available to another person, and by being responsible for the other, concern and care were displayed. As the exchange came to a close, one student commented, "I realized how much I cared for them and how many new friends I had." Care was shown in the time participants took to explain a phrase and in their arm resting on the other's shoulder. Care was represented in the kiss on the cheek in parting.

Buber (1965) speaks of care or love as the meeting ground of the "between":

> On the far side of the subjective,
> on this side of the objective,
> on the narrow ridge,
> where I and Thou meet,
> there is the realm of the "between". (p. 204)

The "between" indicates a relationship, a meeting, involving two beings in which there is an acceptance and caring for another being as she or he is. At the same time, the "is" includes an individual's potential to become. A friendship relationship offers mutual respect and caring within this freedom to grow. A friendship is not a static relationship but a dynamic one. Within this relationship joy evolves. This is reflected in a participant's comment: "When we were in front of the school leaving for Montreal, I looked back to the beginning of the exchange when I first met my billet and remembered all the good times we had had." Enjoying another being's friendship enriched their enjoyment of the social events themselves. It was not so much just the event itself which provided the joy but the being with and caring for another being. This is shown in Plate 14 taken at a house party

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in which the closeness of the participants and enjoyment on their faces reveals a sense of caring.

Plate 14

Cicero spoke of this warmth and joy of friendship when he wrote that "robbing life of friendship is like robbing the world of the sun" (cited in James & Savary, 1976, p. 1).

The opposite situation of a caring relationship would be the condition of being "alone". To be alone is to be without others and, consequently, with no meeting ground. A stranger is in this position with respect to a group he or she approaches. The new group may wish to keep the stranger apart which would in turn label this person as "one who could not be loved." A stranger is often labeled as an enemy which is the opposite of being a friend. An enemy is a representative of a category of people who are portrayed as untrustworthy and uncaring. Through involvement in the exchange program, participants quickly moved from being strangers to being friends.

The exchange participants' feelings of care are revealed in the roots of our modern word "friend" which is linked to the meaning of the Old English word "freon" (to love). This love or care pertained to the specificity and well-being of the other and to that which was formed by the interaction of responsible, caring individuals--friendship.

However, not every we-relation in the exchange program deepened into a close friendship. While an exchange experience creates encounter opportunities with groups, cultures, and individuals that otherwise may not have developed; involvement in this matrix did not ensure the development of a close friendship with an individual's exchange partner. Even within their own school classes not every individual was their close friend. During the exchange, some students formed friendships with participants other than their exchange partners while some other students limited the risks involved to the development of comradeship in which they were united in a common struggle to operate in each other's life-worlds.

To become a friend involves taking risks as in the offer to share the essentialness of our being is taken one of the most risky of human endeavours. Once friendship is embarked upon, a particular combination of visible and invisible experiences enables it to flower. It was within this caring relationship of friendship that the participants were able to "formulate appropriate identities, discover new dimensions of freedom . . . and give shape to hopeful, humane worlds" (Sadler, 1970, p. 185). In this creative endeavour to foster friendship during the exchange program, there was an experiencing of a common, shared humanity which at the same time did not negate the differences in the participants' life-worlds nor the individuality of the other.

Conclusion: Parting is Such Sweet Sorrow

The final coming together for the parting ceremony signified an ending of the face-to-face nature of the exchange program. There was sadness in the eyes of the participants as they realized that the immediacy and the shared intertwining of a mutual present was moving too quickly to a close. As the bus moved away, halting the exchange of glances, the uniqueness of the other as expressed in a particular twinkle in the eyes, the curving of the lips to express joy, and the slouched shoulders, faded. Flashes of shared but now past scenes came to mind. No longer was there a shared space and temporality. The intense emotion displayed in the tears of parting made visible the participants' feelings of care. Buber (1970) highlights this when he writes that "feelings dwell in man, but man dwells in his love" (p. 66). In the participants' parting tears flowed both the joy of sharing a mutuality with another being and the sadness in its ending. Their experiences made real the expression: "Parting is such sweet sorrow."

During discussions with the students following the exchange, they would smile when re-calling their many friendship encounters. Reminiscing over their photographs brought the other being of the we-relation temporarily into their present, but now there was no longer a mutual exchange of glances. The individual uniqueness of the other which emerged out of a meeting of similarities and differences was remembered. However, as the other moved from the we-relation to a they-relation, there was a growing organization of thoughts and past experiences based on memories of their mutual prior personal experiences, rather than a sharing of the present. Exchanging of letters would assist in maintaining contact, but the two would no longer be able to "grow older together" in mutual presence. As Ann cogently stated, "It would be really neat to have another re-union!"

Chapter IX

Gathering the Themes: The Nature of an Exchange

Introduction

This research investigation began with, and has been guided by, the question: What is the nature of the exchange experience? An investigation of the experiences and reflections of both exchange participants and non-participants has been explored in an ongoing search to understand more deeply the response to this question. During this exploration a number of major themes have emerged which speak of the exchange experience. These themes are the following: a willingness to enter a journey as a stranger; a growth of the I-You relationship; a dwelling in and mutual sharing of the life-world of the other; an expansion of horizons in the process of self-understanding; a coming to know the other in his/her sameness and difference; a development of a sense of we-ness and community; and a deepening of the we-relation into friendship.

In earlier sections a deeper understanding has been gained of aspects of the exchange experience by seeing what it is and what it is not. This examination will be pursued further by systematically comparing the exchange experience with related educational phenomenona such as the travelogue, the field trip, and the camping trip. The overriding question in this examination will be what makes an exchange experience uniquely different from other related educational experiences?

The second section of this chapter will endeavour to bring together, in an interpretive way, the composite parts discussed in earlier chapters so as to reassert the wholeness of the exchange experience.

Comparing Exchange Experiences with Related Educational Phenomena

Travelogue Approach

> Lights out! The images flash upon the screen--a distant land hot and humid, people in long robes rushing among stalls in a bazaar. Their dialogue has a strange, unfamiliar sound. In the audience, the students' eyes are focussed upon the novel activities portrayed on the screen.

How is this experience the same as, or different from, an exchange experience? First of all, the film viewer sits in the familiarity of the classroom while the outside world is brought to him or her. By contrast, the exchange participant leaves the security of the classroom for an unknown world. While the exchange participant takes on the role of a stranger entering a new life-world, the film viewer sees "strange sights" but is not called upon to adjust to fit into the ongoing experience. As such, the film viewer's role is more that of a passive observer who views the world from a safe, detached point of view. This world has been selected by outside organizers with the camera providing a focussed eye on the life of the other.

In an exchange experience, participants are drawn into the lived world of the other in direct, face-to-face encounters in which similarities and differences are both observed and experienced. Since social interaction is not required of the film viewer, there is no need for him or her to find a common base from which to initiate a dialogical meeting as there is in an exchange experience. Consequently, viewers tend to focus upon those aspects which are different from their life-worlds.

Through being exposed to the other's life-world in the film, the viewer may raise questions such as: I wonder why they live like that? I wonder if I could live like that? What do they do in their spare time? Thus, there may be a search to know the otherness of the other, but it is a one-way process. That is, the other is not engaged in the same process, nor is it even possible for the process to be reciprocal. Thus, the viewer cannot pursue these questions in dialogue with the other. Within the exchange situation, this reciprocal process is possible.

At the same time, the film viewer is able to widen his or her horizon of meaning by gaining further knowledge of the other as presented in the film just as the exchange participant is able to gain knowledge of the other through observation. This knowledge has the potential to alter their perceptions. Is this the only method that exchange participants have to expand their horizons? No, dialogue provides an important avenue for deepening the participants' understanding of the other. During dialogue, ideas can be expressed, verified with the other, and horizons expanded. In this sense the exchange participant experiences a life-world "with" another while the film viewer has an internal experience "about" the other. To the degree that the viewers are able to put themselves in the place of the other, they can gain an empathy for the other. However, this empathy is not knowingly recognized by the other. Reciprocity is not possible.

Because reciprocal interaction is lacking between the film viewer and the other in the film, possibilities do not exist for the development of a reciprocal I-You relationship, a we-relation, or a sense of community as experienced in an exchange. Likewise, unlike the exchange participant, the viewer does not have the potential to become friends with the other in the situation. As such, we see the film viewer in the role of the tourist while the exchange participant initially enters encounters with the other as a stranger but deepens his/her relationship with the other throught dialogical interaction.

Guest Speakers

> Dressed in his traditional costume, the speaker explains: "My country is much smaller than yours. Most of our people live in the country but my parents and the other four members of my family which includes two brothers, a sister, and a grandmother live in one of our larger cities. In our spare time we enjoy watching some of the same television programs as you do."

Unlike the travelogue, the guest speaker as other is in the direct presence of the students. The intent of inviting a guest speaker is generally to enable the students to gain further knowledge about the person's area of expertise through a personal face-to-face presentation. As a guest, the speaker is invited into the life-world of the classroom not to become a member of it but to share his or her life-world experiences gained outside that particular classroom.

Therefore, the outside world is brought into the classroom through the personal narrative: voice, mannerisms, and experiences of the other. Consequently, students do not learn about the other in the contextualized setting of the other's own life-world. Instead, knowledge of the other's life-world is abstracted from a re-telling of the speaker's experiences. Of course, story telling can be a powerful communicative experience. There is a sharing of these experiences extracted from the past, but the sharing is a discussion or story telling of what has been experienced or lived in separate life-worlds. The guest speaker is not expected to come to know the students' life-worlds.

Is this the same as an exchange experience? When exchange participants first meet and become familiar with each others' biographies, their conversation is similar to interaction with a guest speaker. That is, there is an attempt to gain "knowledge of" the person's life-world: Have you lived here all your life? What do you do in your spare time on the weekend? However, the nature of the relationship is different. Exchange participants, although recognizing the individual qualities of the other, usually perceive of themselves as being equally capable of contributing to the situation. In the relationship between a guest speaker and students, the guest speaker is usually the giver of knowledge. Where dialogue exists, the student primarily asks questions of the speaker, thereby finding out more out about the other's sameness and difference. The guest speaker is not expected to reciprocate. The relationship at the same time can still be warm, friendly, and supportive. In an exchange the participant enters the life-world of the other. Coming to know the other grows through observation of actual lived situations but more importantly during interaction with the other in a variety of face-to-face situations. This living in the setting of the other's life-world is not part of the expectation of a guest-speaker.

As the quest speaker cannot come to know each of the students in a short time, he/she leaves with a generalized perception of the group. However, since the speaker is the center of attention, the students often gain more information concerning the speaker than the speaker does of them. This does not rule out moments in which an I-You relationship is experienced, for example, participants may suddenly realize that the speaker is describing a chapter in their life as well. However, since the speaker leaves after one session, opportunities are not available as in the exchange to expand and deepen the we-relation and friendship through further shared interaction.

Field Trips

> The students gather around the tour guide as she explains: "In this lumber mill we use some of the most up-to-date electronic equipment available. As you can see, it only takes one operator to control the movement of logs through this part of the mill. Let's move now to the planer to see that process."

Both the field trip and the exchange participants leave the physical setting of the classroom to explore the outside world. Although exchange participants often travel greater distances, this is not always the case. For example, an urban group of students could have an exchange with a nearby rural community whereas a particular field trip could take participants two hundred miles to the mountains. So the physical distance itself does not differentiate between the two experiences.

One common element which both experiences do share is involvement in conducted tours. Students are provided information on these tours as tourists are on a Cook Package Program. Experiences are planned and structured. Emphasis is on the objective seeing of the community's sights. Students are brought to settings which are considered educational. The objective of visiting a lumber mill, for example, could be stated as: Students will be able to describe the process whereby lumber is produced from a log. In these tours experts deliver knowledge to the uninformed, the students, as the student group passes through the sight.

The other as tour guide is turned to, and listened to, as a person representing a composite of typifications. Thus, participants in each experience often respond to the sights portrayed in the organized tours and those people in it in an I-It fashion. For example, in a tour of a lumber mill, people are seen as operators of machinery not as beings with individual personal biographies. In this process there is an attempt to "look at" life from a safe physical, social, or historical distance. Invisible walls, or visible glass windows prevent participants from engaging in face-to-face dialogue with individuals on the "other side". Likewise, the rope in front of the museum display prevents the audience from touching the portrayed segment of life. It is not considered appropriate to ask: What understanding did you gain during interaction within the situation? However, it is apt to ask: What did you learn from or about the situation? Neither the individuality of the tour guide, nor that of the student is essential to the operation of the sight. That is, the sight would function as is without a particular guide or student.

In other situations both the participants in a field trip and an exchange maintain a safe chronological distance from their present time frame. For example, they may visit a museum which attempts to re-present life from the past in a diorama. A "living" museum may try to reduce this distance by having employees play the part of historical characters. In this situation a worker may play the role of a pioneer blacksmith who startles his audience with sparks flying from a forge. However, museums are not "peopled"; they are staffed by employees who return to their homes when the doors of the museum are locked. Thus, the actual location visited, whether it be a museum or a local zoo, can be the same for both types of experiences. So the actual sight visited does not differentiate between the nature of these two educational approaches.

While a field trip usually focusses on one major area such as the operation of a coal mine, an exchange provides a look at a cross section of activities from the local government offices to the major economic activities in the area. An exchange program attempts to present an integrated, representative picture of the political, economic, social, and geographical spheres of the life-world of another group of people. So is an exchange just an extended field trip, more of the same?

To pursue this question further, let us look at the relationships between participants. Students in both types of experiences gain enjoyment in social interaction with in-group members. This interaction is considered relatively safe and secure in the sense that expectations and judgments are defined by previous knowledge of typifications and knowledge of the personal biographies of the other in-group members. This knowledge provides an interpretive base for understanding new experiences. During these experiences, there is a turning to the other in-group members in a face-to-face dialogue. Enjoyment arises in discussing with their friends about other areas of their common life-world such as the thrill of a police chase observed on a television program, or an upcoming houseparty on Friday. Thus, both approaches are similar in having in-group interaction.

But what is the nature of the relationship of the field trip participant and the exchange participant to the other as out-group member? One clear distinction is that out-group members are not part of field trip experience in direct relationships except through the various tour guide situations whereas the exchange participants spend much of their time with members of a group originally defined as an out-group. How does this situation affect the field trip participant's and exchange participant's definition of the other?

During a field trip, participants as outsiders walk through "public" places which are open to everyone yet do not reveal the specific life of anyone in particular. The private homes of others, blurred through the tinted green windows of the moving bus, are viewed from a safe spacial and relational distance by the field trip participant. The personal, social world of the other is seldom entered. Instead, there is a dwelling in the field participants' common life-world with other in-group members who are accepted by, and accepting of those directly involved. The field trip participant observes the "doors" of the new community he or she tours but sees them more as barriers. The doors are not envisioned as a way to enter the life-world of another.

A crucial distinctive feature of the exchange experience arises by contrast to this description of the field trip participant. This feature is the reciprocal opening of the life-world of one exchange participant to the other and a reciprocal sharing of experiences in their life-worlds with the other. The word "with" expresses the nature of this relationship in which there is a mutual coming together. By contrast, the field trip participant will often emphasize the distance between himself or herself and the other. Out-group members are seen as strangers whose faces are responded to with the statement: "They all look the same to me!" It is the out-group members' apparent group sameness which is noticed. In turn, this sameness is employed to label them as different from field trip participants who are considered individuals. Consideration is not given to the question: In what ways are these people the same as myself? Rather, differences between the two groups are emphasized.

Field trip participants often consider dialogue with outsiders to be unnecessary, to be avoided, or to pose a threat. Typifications regulate contact while personal intersubjectivity is limited. Perceived differences keep the field trip participants from entering the dwelling sphere of the other. This means the other is viewed through a facade which does not permit a deeper sense of communication, a coming together. By contrast, exchange participants come to know the other as an individual being whose name represents their individuality. Situations are experienced with the other within whose life-world the activity is taking place. Within this relationship, the other's sameness and difference is revealed as part of the totality of the other as a fellow human being.

Camping Trips

> Sitting around the campfire after cooking their meals in small groups, the campers sing songs together. As the moon becomes more visible, each person shares with the group one of their scary experiences. Talking and laughing continues in the campers' tents until late into the evening.

As in field trips and exchange programs, campers leave the classroom for the outside world. One of the major intents of a camping experience is often to come closer to, and to participate in relationships with, the world of nature. Although this may be part of an experience in the life-world of the other in an exchange program, it is not a major intent. Camping participants move out of the setting of their individual, immediate life-worlds to a common setting in nature. On the other hand, exchange participants reciprocally spend time in the existing life-world setting of the other.

Like the exchange program, there is a 24 hour living together during which time the participants actively engage in meeting their needs. The campers' feelings of we-ness are promoted through working together on such projects as setting up camp, preparing meals, and taking part in games. Although the specific activities may differ, both experiences endeavour to promote a deeper understanding of the other participants as individuals through their direct interaction. Interaction with other participants, and in the case of the camping trip, with an added emphasis on interacting with nature, encourages a searching for self-understanding.

Part of the difference between the two experiences lies in how the participants initially perceive each other. On class camping excursions, the participants are usually known to each other through prior contact in the classroom. Each person is considered to be the same in the sense of being part of the class group but to be different in having a distinctive personality. At the same time, the interaction during camping experiences broadens and deepens the participants' understanding of other in-group members. Likewise, the exchange participants are able to experience this same process with existing in-group members. However, the exchange participants have interaction with others originally defined as out-group members who are at first considered strangers coming from a different life-world. It is because there are initially perceived differences that participants often join a program. An I-You relationship, a we-relation, and friendship can develop in both camping and exchange experiences, but the difference is that the exchange participant additionally has these relationships with the other who is initially considered to come from a different life-world. Through the exchange emphasis on interaction in the life-world of the other, the other as stranger is no longer seen as a member of an out-group but an individual with a particular biography who becomes a member of a newly formed group--we.

The Nature of the Exchange Experience

By comparing the exchange experience to other educational experiences, it has been possible to understand more clearly some of the essential features of this experience. Pedagogical theorizing has been grounded in the lived, concrete experiences of the exchange participants. The intent of this section is to bring together the major aspects of this exchange experience in an integrative way.

In order to gain a further concrete sense of this journey, here follows a reconstructed composite, exchange-participant letter which is based on my observations of the participants' activities, participants' written comments, and our shared dialogues. The intention is not to report the exact words of the participants but to capture the participants' thoughts and feelings concerning the exchange experience.

> Dear Jean,
>
> We arrived back in Vancouver two days ago. As we touched down at the airport, I vividly recall our group's parting in Quebec. Tears were as plentiful as the rain here in Vancouver! It was hard to believe that we have become such close friends in so short a time.
>
> I remember our tense first meeting. My palms were sweaty, my heart sped as I tried to make sense out of our first encounter. I felt uncomfortable with you or was it with me? I could not avoid you. You were face to face with me. Our worlds met face to face. You were a stranger to me. Strange in the sense I did not know where you came from, who you were at that moment, or who you were to become. I had to decide: What should I show you of my world? We both had to determine what we were willing to risk in exposing our lives and bringing our thoughts into

speech. At first I wondered if you were going to have more to say than: "I am fifteen. I like skiing." Your answers provided information about you but did not at first portray in a deeper sense the essential you.

Coming to know you as an individual, Jean, was not always smooth or easy. We were travelling a course in which the markers did not always mean the same thing to both of us. We had so little time to share what we had taken the previous fifteen years to become. There was a sense of urgency concerning the opening of our worlds. This opening was not all at once, never total. But we increasingly pulled the curtains back. You were no longer that shadow of a figure.

Sometimes it was during our discussions that I grew to know you further while at other times it was your actions which increased my understanding of you. I remember the care with which you picked your socks to match your shirt which told me of your need for precision and definiteness. You probably noticed I was lucky to find a pair of socks that matched. What did that tell you about me? With further interaction I began to understand more of your expressions. That quick wink with your left eye told me that what you were about to say was not to be taken seriously. I learned not to push you further with questions if two furrows formed between you eyebrows. This understanding did not come immediately, nor always easily. I remember one time when you exclaimed that you hated parties! At first I was upset: "Should we stop going to house parties? What should we do instead?"--I had missed the wink! We seemed to grow closer as the days sped by. With each succeeding day, I could tease you more just like I could with my other friends at home.

Your look made me question both the new life-world I had entered and my being in that world. I could not take for granted little things like where the telephone sat. In my place it hangs within reach of the kitchen table while in your house it seemed to hide by the bookshelf. Left was still left and right still right, but what now lay on either side was different. At first I had to consciously watch where I walked in your home; a table was where a couch should be and a lamp sat where a bookshelf would be in my home. In coming to navigate in your world, to feel at home with you, I not only needed to be familiar with your physical environment but our interpersonal relationships as well.

I now miss the group feeling that we enjoyed. There was an excitement and togetherness that came from being a part of a group. Whether it was sitting around the pool joking with each other or building the human pyramid, I felt part of what was happening. I felt I belonged. At first I was afraid that we might not get along, that we might not be friends, But you and the other students welcomed me into your world and made me feel at home. I sensed that you felt the same way when you were in my home. We didn't change our worlds, but we changed each other by being there. Now I'm a lot more confident that I can meet challenges. I certainly don't know all the answers, but I feel more willing to explore and to take risks.

My friends asked me what it was like living in the home of a French Canadian. I replied: "I don't know about other homes, but I was certainly made welcome in Jean's home!" Well, I have to catch up on my homework. Say hello to your mom and dad for me. I miss your mom's delicious meals! I hope we can keep in touch. Write soon!

Your friend,
Ben

In what ways does this letter demonstrate the major themes of the phenomena of the exchange experience and by so doing indicate the pedagogic nature of the exchange experience? In Ben's correspondence, we witness an ongoing dialectical struggle to create meaning from lived experiences. In both a concrete and symbolic sense, Ben's life-world was called into question by his images and experiences in Jean's life-world. Just as the telephone was not where Ben felt it "should be", neither did Jean always act in the manner Ben anticipated. This interplay of Ben's previous stock of knowledge with concrete experiences which initially appeared contradictory led him to question his own taken-for-granted world and the world of the other.

The journey undertaken by Ben illustrates a willingness to engage in an adventure. This adventure led him to new physical surroundings but more importantly it enticed him into participating in the life-world of the other. If Ben had endeavoured to retain his ecological bubble totally in tact, then he would have resisted engaging in this dialectical struggle. He would have remained an individual who only sees one part of the dialectical relationship as relevant--his own viewpoint.

The exchange experience challenged this approach. Accepting this challenge initially called the students to place themselves in the situation of a stranger. In this process they were separated from the familar sounds, smells, and sights of their dwelling places. By so doing, they entered the life-worlds of the others as strangers. They had to question what was once self-evident and habitual: How is this new life-world different or the same as mine? If it is different, how must I adapt to operate in it? This process revealed the act of learning as an active adventure, an interplay of observation, participation, reflection, and action.

In the adventure of meeting another being face to face, a dialectical relationship was further revealed. Initially this meeting was based on a host-guest relationship. The guest was welcomed by the host at the door to his/her dwelling. Through a sense of obligation, the other was initially related to as a typification rather than a particular individual. In this relationship the students struggled with ways of knowing the other. Is the other an object or a fellow subject? Viewing the other as an object entailed seeing the extrinsic aspect of the other, that is, behaviour, appearance, and usefulness. The other is seen as a means to our ends. This viewpoint was displayed during excursions to various sights. However, coming to know the other participants as subjects encouraged individuals to see each other as ends, as meaning makers who have certain freedoms, choices, and interactions with others. Through engaging in common activities and through entering dialogical encounters in each other's life-world, the exchange experience fostered reciprocal opening into the lived reality of the other. This mutual opening of life-worlds facilitated a sharing and in turn a creation of common life-world experiences, an essential aspect of the exchange experience.

In the context of human interaction, we speak of individuals as being "open" or "closed" by which we mean the degree to which they are willing to drop their masks and reveal their authentic beings. This mutuality becomes possible when each individual is able to place himself or herself in the place or life-world of the other. By opening their dwelling to be shared with others, the young people risked rejection of their life-world. When they took this risk, they demonstrated that they were willing to trust each other. This permitted the act of substitution whereby participants experienced the other side, that is, became more fully aware of the otherness of the other. In so doing, the individuals did not become the other because this would mean loosing their own dwellings or their own identities as beings. This would run counter to the nature of the exchange experience as this form of interaction does not attempt to produce clones but individuals more fully aware of the other and who they themselves are becoming.

This mutual turning to the other made the growth of a reciprocal You relationship possible. By sharing the risks of opening and revealing themselves and by sharing in this coming to know each other, a feeling of we-ness grew. It is in this sense that exchange participants were called "exchange partners". As partners in the we-relation, each participant welcomed the other into his/her life-world. This feeling of we-ness allowed a deepening of the host-guest relationship into one based on friendship. In friendship we extend our hand to welcome the other into our life-world. Permitting this closeness demonstrates a willingness to share a lived journey of mutuality, experiences gained living with another individual.

If this pedagogic invitation had not been accepted, then the participants would have only been able to view the life-worlds of the others as tourists. In the dialectical struggle between the role of stranger and tourist, the students demonstrated that the pedagogic nature of the exchange experience lies not in the I-It relationships of the tours but in the development of I-You relationships with other participants. This journey called students to draw upon previous resources and newly recognized ones while focussing more consciously on their own beings-in-becoming and the becoming of the others. In this very act of questioning and of being put "in question" by the look of the other, the participants' potential for a widening of horizons was increased. When the young people returned to their own life-worlds, they returned more "experienced" as in our use of the term "journey-man". This experience allowed students to see their previous life-world experiences in a different light.

Throughout this journey, participants continually grappled with the questions: Who am I? Who am I becoming? Thus, the exchange experience encouraged students to challenge their taken-for-granted outlooks. Through this process of questioning their stances, participants grew in self-understanding. Given the intensity and known short duration of the exchange, the process of coming to know the other and one's self was accelerated. Participants became more aware of their growth in maturity. As Ben indicated: "I can meet challenges. . . . I feel more willing to explore and to take risks." This pedagogic questioning was not done in isolation from the world but enticed the students into situations which called for a praxis relationship.

Throughout this journey of self-discovery and interaction with the other, the students struggled with the question of sameness and difference. The very face-to-face nature of the experience encouraged participants to seek common grounds so that interaction in each other's life-world would be possible. Through experiences in each other's life-worlds, students learned that they faced some common issues: How do we establish our independence from our parents? How do we deal with new situations?

The young people recognized that their common humanity is made possible through viewing themselves as subjects. While recognizing that they faced common isues in their daily lives, the students came to realize that although some of the issues were the same, the approaches utilized in dealing with these concerns could differ. For example, one person may meet new friends easily through a ski club while another person may make friends cautiously in small group settings. However, by recognizing a sameness in this ongoing process of becoming, differences were accepted as part of this shared sameness and not seen as being exotic, strange, and unbelievable. Diversity became more willingly accepted and prized as recognized in the individuality of the other. The exchange experience involved this constant interplay of the themes of sameness and difference.

The words and actions of the students demonstrated an essential aspect of the experience: mutual interaction between subjects coming to share and to live in each other's life-world. By so doing, participants engaged in common life experiences. A we-ness was created which grew through the interaction of the individuals but was different from the sum of their individual contributions. Thus, the notion of an exchange experience in the economic interpretation of a giving for something gained in return, a trading, provided only a limited understanding of the exchange experience. More appropriate was the existential understanding of encounter in which there is a genuine meeting not a zero sum transaction or a direct barter processs, but interaction in which both parties grow richer by their mutual interaction. The horizons of both parties were widened, not one at the expense of the other. The relationship became like a third party or vessel in which both pour some of their experiences. Thus, the term "encounter" has come to more appropriately represent the experience we have been investigating than the term "exchange".

During dialectical encounters in which the students sought to understand the life-worlds of the others, the young people learned that they were not alone. Through the questioning looks of the others, they grew more aware of who they were becoming. As they faced the unknown, the other, the students had to face themselves in the meeting with the other. The young people come to know more fully who they were. The nature of the exchange encounter encouraged participants to respond to each other in meaningful ways. In this responding, the students came to feel responsible for the well-being of the others, for the individuals they were and were striving to become. This facilitated the growth of a sense of community nourished by a mutual caring. In this mileu the exchange experience encouraged participants to "grow old together" in a mutual reciprocal encountering of the life-world and being of the other.

Chapter X

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM A STUDY OF AN EXCHANGE EXPERIENCE

Introduction

In this study an attempt has been made to deepen our understanding of the lived experience of exchange participants through an analysis and interpretation of various descriptions and dialogues. In the dialectical process of studying this experience, it became necessary to consider both what an exchange experience is and what it is not. With a coming to understand what the nature of the experience is, it becomes often clear, as well, what does and what does not contribute to the value of the experience. Thus, the very question of what "ought to be" is part of the nature of the question which initiated this study: What is the nature of the exchange experience? In both the need and desire to address the question of the "ought" is embedded a search "to fulfill our human nature: to become more fully who we are" (van Manen, 1984, p. 39). This does not mean that every person experiences an exchange in the same manner, nor that participation in an exchange program ensures that the full nature of the exchange is experienced. The exchange experience is an adventure. Consequently, the specific transformation an individual experiences is unpredictable.

Just as the exchange [illegible]ticipants became more aware or conscientized in Freire's terminology (1974) through their involvement in the exchange, so it is hoped that the ongoing dialogue between you, the reader, and this text has fostered a deeper understanding of the exchange experience. Our coming to understand the nature of the experience itself obliges us, as educators, to focus on those features which enable the enhancement of the quality of the experience. This next section will pursue this issue in order "to formulate recommendations that might lead to more possibilities for human autonomy, a better situation for those on whom a decision is to be visited" (Barritt et al., 1984, p. 15). By so doing, we demonstrate that pedagogical theorizing displays a concern and care for the other.

As educators in the exchange situation, we are called to respond to the question: How do we promote the meaningfulness of the exchange experience so that the experience itself contributes to the good of those involved? A discussion of this question is not intended to result in the issuing of a dictum to the reader. Instead, the intention of this pursuit is to invite the reader to continue in a dialogical process so as to improve the quality of future exchange experiences for young people.

Implications for an Exchange as Journey

The metaphor of a journey is appropriate both to the specific experience of an exchange and in a broader sense to education in general. The term "to educate" comes from the Latin word educer which means "to lead forth". In a very concrete sense, an exchange experience involves a leading out of the physical structure of the education edifice which indicates a sense that the meaningfulness of the exchange experience cannot be fulfilled in the classroom. Instead, there is a leading to, and eventually a joining in, the life-world of the other. Why is this change of environment deemed important? What pedagogical changes does this move necessitate? Is the classroom learning approach simply transferred to a different environment?

As we have discussed earlier in this study, the exchange participant approaches his or her journey not as a tourist but as a traveller, as stranger. As a traveller approaches others in a questioning manner in order to engage in a dialogical process, it is worthwhile to explore with the students what their expectations and concerns are regarding their proposed involvement in the exchange program. The posing of open-ended questions invites participants to join in discussion with the teacher and others in the group. Definitive answers are not the goal of this process, rather participants are encouraged to explore their thoughts and feelings. Students learn not only that others have some of the same concerns, but that it is acceptable to raise questions. This type of discussion demonstrates that doubts and an investigation of the unknown are worthwhile. Likewise, students are encouraged to become more deeply aware of their own bias so that the exchange situation "may present itself in all its newness and thus be able to assert its own truth against one's own fore-meaning" (Gadamer, 1982, p. 238).

The educator can initiate this journey by posing questions: Have you ever been in a situation where you felt strange or out of place?

What makes you feel comfortable in a particular situation? Various role-playing situations could be employed to explore with the students their reactions in strange situations. Activities such as open-ended discussions and role plays foster a democratic process, rather than an authoritarian process, which encourages the transition from teaching as a banking concept to teaching as an act of guiding. By encouraging the students to actively search and question, the teacher demonstrates that the role of the passive tourist is not an essential feature of the exchange experience.

Each journey has a beginning or dwelling point. For the students, this is their own life-world which is based on many taken-for-granted assumptions. By encouraging students to correspond meaningfully with their exchange partners and to raise questions in their letters, the process of mutually questioning their life-worlds begins before their face-to-face meeting. Individual and group preparation of other materials such as video tapes, picture collections, and interviews encourages the participants to become more aware of their own life-worlds and provides a basis for the questioning of the life-world of the other. The educator entices the participants into further active involvement on this journey by raising questions during co-planning sessions such as: What do you think they would enjoy doing from your daily activities? What do you think they would find strange in your world? What can you do to make them feel more comfortably at your home when they arrive? The act of questioning encourages a sense of openness, an active involvement in raising and responding to concerns. This process allows students an active role in presenting their life-world and inquiring into the life-world of the other.

These discussions and activities demonstrate that each participant undertakes his/her journey with others not apart from others in isolation. Initially, if the students from a particular school are from different classes, or even if they are from the same class, they may be in a deeper sense strangers to each other. Thus, the journey from the unknown to the known is undertaken first within the home group. Working together on fund raising activities and other group projects further enables a co-operative coming together in pursuit of a common cause. In this process, the members move from a collective to a sense of community, a dwelling point where comfort and security are experienced in an evolving feeling of unity. Within their own group, the students can more intently and openly begin to explore the questions: How are we the same? How are we different? Further, based on this growing sense of community, the "home" group will be able to provide support when difficulties are encountered during the actual exchange.

In this journeying as a traveller, there is wonderment felt in experiencing the "sights" in a new community. But these sights are not experienced in the same manner as by the tourist. An exchange participant is actively involved in dwelling in the various sights with members whose home territories are these very sights. Because of this, the educator has to be, or become, familiar with the life-world of his or her students in order to assist them in providing a door into their lived world. Otherwise, the journey becomes a step into an imaginary Disney-like world. Consequently, the students need to play a role in the selection of activities. As co-planners, the students and educators need to ask and discuss such questions as: What is important in my life-world? How does this particular experience allow my exchange partner to share in my life-world? How can I encourage the other to feel part of my life-world? This discussion needs to be conducted with the students, not by the educator in isolation as it is the student's life-world that the other is about to enter. Throughout this journey, the intersubjective relationships call participants to ask themselves: How close to my dwelling will I allow exchange participants to come? How close to the dwelling of others will I venture?

This raises the issue of what activities are appropriate for a meeting in dialogical encounters. If this journey is an intersubjective one, then is the passive observer role called for by tours appropriate? Intuitively sensing that the tourist sights do not offer an opportunity to come to know the other or his or her life-world in an intimate sense, participants often turn away from the tourist sight to face-to-face contact with the other. This then should be one criterion for selection of activities, that is, does the activity allow for face-to-face interaction which encourages a coming together of participants.

As this meeting is intersubjective, the journey is a not one conducted in isolation but a co-operative one. This means that the activities themselves should reflect and permit co-operative action. Observing an object, film, or process as a group of individuals does not mean that co-operation is involved. Being in one physical spot at the same time does not result, in itself, in co-operation. Co-operation necessitates an active working together towards a common goal. A co-operative community "can only be engendered through direct, reciprocal interaction among social actors" (Murphy, 1983, p. 103).

The actual viewing of tourist sights in and of themselves do not meet this criterion. On the other hand, if there is a mutual search to discover what a particular sight reveals about an individual's life-world, then it enhances the exchange experience. For example, if a factory is approached as an isolated phenomenon and a tour conducted by an anonymous spokesperson, then we are in the mode of the tourist. If the factory is the working world of one of the participant's parents, then the visit of the plant will be more relevant to a personal journey into the life-world of the other. This second approach increases potential opportunities for personally meaningful questions to arise: How did your father get his job? Does your mother like her job? Do you want to work there when you graduate? Links can be made between the organized experience and the life-world of the other who has a specific biography. For example, the effects of an ongoing wage dispute at the factory can be evidenced in the family discussions and concerns over budgeting. The threat of a layoff becomes very concretely expressed in the moods of family members. Consequently, the sight becomes more of an integrated aspect of the experience; a more holistic approach is possible.

These places are visited with another for whom the location has personal meaning. It is seeing a life-world with the other which is crucial. So it is not the sight in and of itself which determines the tourist or traveller mode, but how the experience is approached and in what ways the sight speaks of the individual's life-world. The educator encourages the organization of opportunities in which this process can develop and facilitates a questioning approach to further the participants' awareness and analysis of their experiences on their journey.

Implications for Coming to Know the Other

As educators, we are faced with the crucial question: How can the exchange experience unfold so as to make it possible for young people to come to know the otherness of the other? As indicated in the previous section, an essential approach is to encourage a questioning orientation on this journey. Creating opportunities for both I-It and I-You encounters in this "knowing" process becomes an important task. The I-It situations as represented in tourist activities are more direct and easier to plan. Although less predictable and more fragile, the I-You encounters are, however, what is essential for an authentic coming to know the other.

As participant-educators in an exchange program, we are faced with a similar dilemma as the students; that is, how much of our life-worlds do we reveal and how close do we allow the other to come to our dwelling? The extended amount and degree of contact with students makes the exchange environment different from the regular classroom situation which allows for fifty-minute periods, a retreat to the staffroom, and a drive to one's private dwelling as the school doors close. The exchange experience opens the educator's life to view and to question: What are the teacher's eating habits? How does the teacher react in new situations? Is the teacher able to make friends with new acquaintances? Students see the educator relating in contextualized, intersubjective situations. Thus, the educator's very being becomes a living of his/her pedagogy. A praxis approach is called for. By his or her own example, the educator can provide a leading forward.

Part of the responsibility of the educator is to recognize, to encourage, and to co-ordinate opportunities for the face-to-face meetings of individuals and groups. As these situations are less open to an authoritative approach, there may be a hesitancy to allow students the freedom to determine the nature of this meeting. However, participants need these times to meet, to join in the "between". This is evident in the social activities which participants emphasized as important events in the exchange experience. This may, on the surface, appear less important than attendance on an organized tour. Are the participants just having fun? Can this be educational? It may be said that students are already involved in social gatherings or sports activities in their "normal" course of events. However, the argument in itself reveals one reason for including activities of a social nature in an exchange program, that is, they are representative of part of the life-world of the students.

Social events are important to the participants since during the interaction they are able to explore who the other persons are and who they themselves are becoming. The young people in their intersubjective actions determine the structure and content of their dialogue. But how can we, as educators, plan and control the outcome if they are on their own? We cannot. But by allowing students to interact during social occasions, we give them opportunties to demonstrate their concern in coming to know the other. A trust is therefore established in their abilities and motives. In this process one individual may learn, for example, that he/she shares a common interest with the other in forming friendships. In these encounters the participants become freer to be who they are. If the context of the interaction is itself enjoyable, then a potential relationship is viewed as more probable. This sharing allows the participants to enjoy and to understand the other's individuality, and the commonalities which unite them. This permits the movement from a relationship as strangers in the host-guest situation to a relationship between individuals growing together in friendship. As facades are removed, the participants are able to gain a more authentic understanding of their sameness and difference.

What happens if an educator attempts to organize an exchange experience so that each participant is protected or insulated from the questioning look of the other, or from taking risks in venturing out, or from dealing with the tension between the I-It and the I-You relationships? The situation may be initially less threatening and less frustrating for the educator and student, but this very organization may prevent a genuine meeting of participants. A real meeting often challenges the participants' typifications. By so doing, a disequilibrium arises. However, this process is not to be avoided as it enables a new horizon of meaning to develop which results in a deeper knowing of the other. The educator is not there to solve the issues for the student. This would place the student in the role of a tourist, not in the active role of the traveller. Instead, the educator is involved in the co-planning and implementation of activities and in creating opportunities for a questioning approach to arise at various points in the experience.

Young people need to be encouraged to reflect upon the experiences gained during the exchange in order for the full impact of the experience to take place. During the moment of the experience itself, we do not always have the time, nor the distance, to consider the full meaning of the experience itself. As the students gain a perspective on the specifics of the situation, they need to further engage in reflection concerning the meaning of their experiences. This is both an individual process and a group process.

Again the educator serves as a guide. For example, as the students plan a portrayal of their experiences to share with other students and family members, the teacher may raise questions such as: What helped you to come to know your exchange partner? How are you the same or different from your exchange partner? How did your feelings change as you went through the experience? The young people could be asked to describe one of their most meaningful experiences. These written or verbal experiences could be shared and discussed with other participants in an endeavour to determine some of the major themes underlying their experiences.

Discussions with other participants about the exchange experience encourage students to see that their experiences were not isolated ones. They will discover a common struggle with such issues as: Who am I becoming as a person? How do I deal with change? How do I face the unknown? The questions and comments of others may stir new reflections in the participants: "I never thought of it that way. I guess I was feeling irritated because I couldn't do it my way!" This discussion process fosters a re-visiting of the experience which in turn further enriches its impact. Through this reflective pursuit, the educator also becomes more aware of the effect of the experience and is able to extend the impact of it through continuing the process of reflection with the students.

The coming to know the otherness of the other means that contact with various spheres of the other's life is needed to understand the grounding of his/her life-world. An individual's life-world is culturally, historically, and socially rooted in the lives of those around him or her. Therefore, the planning of the experience should deal with such questions as: Is there time for informal conversations and interaction with other family members? Are family members part of the planning process and involved in some of the activities? What ways are families prepared for another individual coming into their life-world? In order for the exchange experience to reflect the life-world of the individual and in order that this be experienced by the other, time must be provided in the program for this to occur. It is a question of creating an appropriate balance of time spent among family members, the student group, and individual exchange partners. All these avenues allow the exploration of the other's life-world.

Implications for Participants Coming to Know Themselves More Fully

Through the process of encounter, the other calls our own world into question and leads us to reflect upon our previously taken-for-granted way of life. In this dialectical experience, there is a tension involved in testing and taking risks. This social interaction becomes an invitation to engage in the making of authentic decisions. In turn, real concrete consequences arise which call forth further decisions. This involvement creates an important realization: What I do can make a difference in my world. If decisions are made for the other and the program structured with little decision-making power in the hands of the participants, then an important element of the exchange experience is missed. When endeavouring as educators to care for the other, we need to be conscious of overprotecting the participants by making decisions for them. By creating a safer situation, we may rob the participants of the opportunity to create personally meaningful experiences in response to the tension and questions which arise.

Participants need both the exciting experience of making choices and the responsibility that comes with making decisions. This begins with being responsible for making decisions and choices as to what would be worthwhile and representative activities of their life-world to be shared with others. This could mean that not every decision would be necessarily efficiently made or well received by the other students, but the participants would be actively engaged in the experience. They would be able to see the consequences of their decisions in a very concrete way. How would this be reflected in the development of the exchange program? Students could be responsible for planning the activities for a day, making arrangements for the activities and evaluating the other participants' involvement. Students could become guides and leaders for the activities. If the activities are representative of their life-worlds, then they will feel more comfortable being directly involved. Their visible involvement says to themselves and the others: "I am taking the initiative and responsibility to show you my life-world. I want to share it with you." By so doing, the participants demonstrate that they care for the other.

For the student to grow, to become more experienced in the sense of becoming mature, the educator needs to demonstrate that he or she trusts the other. By showing confidence in the student's willingness and ability to make decisions, trust is demonstrated. The educator can lead the students to the experience but cannot take the journey for them.

Implications for Fostering the We-Relation

In Chapter VI, a tourist was described as someone who refuses to join whereas a traveller is a participant who attempts to become part of the life-world he or she enters. By sharing this life-world with another, opportunities exist for the development of a feeling of we-ness. Yet not all contact, nor even all face-to-face contact, evolves into this type of relationship. How do we, as educators, facilitate the growth of we-ness? From earlier discussions in this chapter, the following approaches emerge as relevant to fostering the we-relation: group planning of events, participation in common events, and student responsibility for decisions. It is in this common interaction where the unity of the we-relation is made real. This action involves a meeting of equal beings who perceive their common humanity.

One initial avenue for the growth of the we-relation is the matching of students who have some common basis to start from. This meeting point may be, for example, an interest in a sport, a hobby, a religion, or career goal. The more fully participants initially reveal their life-world, the more participants can be effectively paired. At the same time, this does not mean that the we-relation is limited to just the individual's exchange partner.

To foster a we-relation, there is need to move from a passive observer role to one of co-operative involvement. Feeling part of a common goal, effort, or activity enhances a feeling of belonging as a place is found in the we-relation. This may take many forms from organizing intergroup teams for co-operative or competitive games to spending a day working on a community project. It is important that the activity be seen as enjoyable. Otherwise, the lack of enjoyment will reflect negatively upon the other individuals. Involving students in the planning of activities increases the likelihood that the activities chosen will be interpreted as enjoyable.

Through encouraging a working together in the we-relation, opportunities exist for the participants to further open their life-worlds in order to more deeply explore in context their sameness and difference. Given appropriate opportunities, the participants will begin to reach out, to trust others, and to care for others with a growing intensity and intimacy.

Educators can nurture this growth, but they cannot direct or ensure that particular friendships will flower in the we-relation. The potential exists for a deepening of the we-relation into friendship, but the participants themselves must continue this journey. Friendship cannot be legislated.

Implications for Multicultural Education

To the degree that multiculural education is viewed as a journey undertaken by travellers with the intent of coming to more fully understand others and themselves in our sameness and difference, then the experience of an exchange as described becomes a metaphor for multicultural education. Consequently, what has been discussed as pertinent implications for improving the quality of an exchange program would appear appropriate for multicultural education programs in general. The purpose of this next section is to further illustrate this relationship and to expand on relevant implications.

Culture as a concept is a second order one which arises from a lived reality of such experiences as buying food at the local grocery store, speaking with a friend, and choosing what to do in one's leisure time. However, the students were hesitant to generalize from these situational experiences in order to form cultural statements.

Why is this? One reason may be that students tend not relate to the other as a category but rather as a unique individual who is affected by a number of influences. If this were true for their exchange partners, would it also not be possible for other individuals from the same cultural group? If the intent of multiculturalism is to have students form generalizations about groups, then it would appear that the less personal interaction of the outsider approach is appropriate. On the other hand, if we would like students to relate with others as individuals who have a particular biography, then the situational learning experience of the insider approach to learning offers this potential.

In direct human interaction we need to recognize and accept some common bases, some sense of our common humanity, so as to gain a meeting place. However, in a multicultural education approach which studies "about" the other, the emphasis becomes a study of the novel, the different. There is no felt necesssity to find some common ground for interaction. Instead, we have as Banks (1977) calls it the "chitlen and teepee" education. In this approach the cultural icons become that of a tourist who misinterprets the objects for the lived reality of the other. This approach does not demonstrate our common humanity. However, if we are able to conceive of the other as equally human, then we must admit that we share some common ground.

The students' interactions during the exchange program highlight the perspective that meaningful experiences have both cognitive and affective aspects. However, too many multicultural education programs have assumed that having more "information" will lead to increased understanding. There is a need for educators to ask themselves: How does our program of multiculturalism affect the participants directly and personally? To respond to this question, the educator has to have an understanding of (or an openness to developing an understanding of), the student's life-world just as the student has to pursue an understanding of his/her own life-world. To be meaningful, the educational experience must be based on and return to this life-world if indeed understanding is to be possible.

The exchange experience highlights the impact that the questioning look of the other has on participants. Multicultural programs have to create this same look if students are to question their own stance. This look can be through the question of the educator: What is there about this boy's story in this novel that you have experienced in a similar way? Interaction with guest speakers, interviewing community members, and photographing important aspects of their life-worlds provide students with potential situations for the raising of questions.

These questions encourage a dialectic experience not a presentation or acceptance of a single view. Coming to recognize and to deal with multiple perspectives encourages students to realize that there is not only one approach to an issue. Yet, at the same time, a realization evolves that other beings are dealing with some of the same issues in their lives. Multicultural education needs to focus on issues which are meaningful for the students at their particular age, such as, what do they do in their spare time with their friends? If the contexts and issues are not deemed relevant by young people themselves, then little involvement and questioning results. Just as the students experienced some difficulties in relationships in the exchange, so too will the reality of dealing with multicultural education issues require a facing of challenging and controversial issues. Brotherhood, as we can recall from squabbles with our siblings earlier in our lives, is not life on an ethereal cloud but a dealing with conflict, tragedy, and doubt as well as peace and co-operation.

I have become further convinced that multicultural education is based upon, and grows from, one person relating "with" another being. In the meeting is the education. This does not mean that only exchange programs are appropriate for multicultural education but the underlying philosophy speaks clearly to those interested in this area.

If both the experience of the exchange and the theory of pluralism were to earnestly form a praxis, then many of our current approaches to multicultural education would be open to question. For example, when students are doing individual reports on "Egypt", what are they actually learning? Are they learning that the person who uses proper English and correct literary style receives the highest mark, that individual competiveness is the preferred way to resolve issues, and that knowledge of a situation is better than relating with others? The question must be asked: Are the learning environments and learning approaches consistent with the intents of the program? If, for example, one intent of multiculturalism is to promote harmony between groups, it seems that the use and promotion of co-operative learning approaches would be appropriate. This approach involves an awareness and development of the we-relationship.

In this respect, studies have often revealed that merely having different ethnic groups in a classroom does not increase positive feelings and respect for the other. Often ethnic group members tend to establish their contacts with members from their own group (Cohen, and Manion, 1983). The exchange experience asks us to question the quality of this and other educational meetings and to indeed ask if there is a meeting at all.

To encourage the opening of one being to another and the subsequent sharing of their life-worlds, intersubjective action is required. An authority based, information giving approach will not accomplish this meeting. To facilitate the students meeting, there needs to be opportunities for coming to know the other in an enjoyable context such as interviewing each other, or co-operatively planning and teaching one's peers as in Aronson's jigsaw classroom (1978). These activities foster a bonding through a coming together, not necessarily based on a multicultural content, but in an learning environment which occurs in groups "that are successful in task performance, highly rewarded as a group, and low in intragroup competition" (Williams, 1977, p. 278). In this process initial strangeness is not seen as a barrier but as a meeting of individuals through which deeper understandings of the others and, in turn, of ourselves evolve.

The approach suggested by the exchange experience requires an orientation to the teacher-student and student-student relationship "as co-intenting, co-acting in co-existential situations" (Aoki, 1978a). Students are viewed as learning from and with each other. As co-learners, there is a need to co-operate to meet on some common ground. The teacher does not abrogate his/her leadership role but acts as a facilitator, and a model, rather than a giver of information.

In creating the circumstances for meeting, we allow the opportunities for the questioning look of the other to call our position and thoughts into question. This takes place in Buber's description of the "between". This intersubjective experience calls one from the safety of the classroom desk to the questioning look of the other. To facilitate this dropping of masks, the teacher needs to work at developing a trusting atmosphere in which the students' opinions are valued, questions are encouraged, and openness is fostered. In this process meaningful dialogue has the potential to unfold. It is through this meeting ground of the dialogue as between teacher and student, student and student, student and community members that the students become participants in achieving awareness, understanding, and appreciation of the other.

One of the intents of this process is to "help students gain greater self-understanding by viewing themselves from the perspectives of other cultures" (Banks, 1977, p. 7). This is a recognition that an individual is a being-in-becoming "yet mindful of the grounding he has in his own cultural reality" (Adler, 1977, p. 30). Firsh speaks of this meeting as a means for self-understanding: "The 'glass' through which other cultures are viewed serves not only as a window; it serves as a mirror in which each can see a reflection of his or her own way of life" (1983, p. 15). To determine these perspectives, the learner must go beyond the metaphor of the window to that of a door so that he or she can enter the life of the other through "substitution", that is, through meaningful opportunities to encounter and interact with others.

At the same time, the exchange students point out to us as multicultural educators that one cannot make assumptions about an individual just because of their ethnicity or assumed cultural background. Participants recognized others as individuals whose cultural background was one factor in their being. The other was viewed not as a representative of a culture but a specific being with a holistic identity as symbolized in their name. The interaction of specific individuals evolved into friendship relationships during the exchange. This experience raises questions for educators: Are individuals able to form friendships in my classroom? What can I do to facilitate the development of friendships? What is my relationship with the students as educator?

The spontaneous moments of the exchange experience remind us as educators that opportunities for multicultural learning occur not only through the planned efforts of the educator but also "out of the unplanned here-and-now interaction of thoughts and feelings" (Butchelder & Warner, 1977, p. 38). These interactions can indeed be the most meaningful as they arise out of the lived world of the students: a playground fight, a student's description of a celebration in their home, or a disagreement between friends. These encounters provide a basis for exploring multicultural ideas in a relevant context. Thus, the philosophy of multiculturalism is modelled and promoted not just during a multicultural education period but during math, science, and on the playground so that a multicultural orientation becomes part of a lived reality, rather than a studied abstraction.

The experiential nature of the exchange program points out the situation of "students-in-their-world and with-their-world" (Aoki, 1977, p. 5). The life-world of the other becomes part of the student's world. If multicultural education is to portray life in various cultural groups, then there is a need to go to where this life is lived. This includes being aware of its influence in the school, or lack thereof, and venturing out of the school to be part of this world: to smell fish in a market, to talk with a local religious leader, or to sit with a friend in a rock garden.

Just as the students developed a sense of responsibility for the other so must the goal of multiculturalism be to develop this same sense of feeling responsible for the well-being of others. This goes beyond an awareness and appreciation of sameness and difference to a call for action. These responsible acts can take many forms: developing a friendship with another individual in the classroom, taking a stand on Canada's immigration policy, and working with other class members in order to raise funds to sponsor a child under the Foster Parents Plan. These involvememts represent a continuation of the experiential approach which requires a praxis not a talking about. In this light Freire (1974) stresses that humankind's "ontological vocation . . . is to be a Subject who acts upon and transforms his world and in so doing moves towards ever new possibilities of a fuller and richer life individually and collectively" (pp. 12, 13).

The unwillingness of some students to participate in exchange programs indicates a need to focus on the theme of strangeness. If the students are going to go beyond the museum, tourist approach to the other, then they have to be willing to enter the role of the stranger. This means dealing with fears, insecurities, doubts, and questions so as to encourage students to take risks as they venture out of their safe, secure life-world. This is not accomplished easily or swiftly but by giving students choices, raising questions, and enticing them one step at a time.

Underlying multicultural education is a liberation movement, quiet sometimes, sometimes hidden under the paper dragon and the paper maché marachas. But for those who look more deeply, a plea cries out: "Look at me. I'm worthy enough to participate with you!" This liberation is an ongoing, critical analysis of our responses to the questions: Who am I? Who am I becoming? Multicultural education is given the responsibility of finding our roots but also of giving us wings to grow. This growing calls for a critical reflectiveness through interaction with others. As educators, we entice and lead the students on a journey. As experienced guides, we help to plan the route with the students to increase the meaningfulness of their journey. But just as each one of us has different fingerprints so will the journey be experienced in its own exciting specific way.

Implications for Further Research

Just as a journey exposes us to new situations and raises further questions so too has this research endeavour raised questions and issues for further investigation.

In terms of exchange programs themselves, there is a need to investigate such questions as: Are long term exchange experiences qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from short term exchanges? What preparation in terms of social interaction skills would be appropriate? What experiences would foster a sharing and deepening of the experience after the exchange itself? Does a person's perception of their exchange experience change over time? It would be valuable to see how students would design an exchange experience. How would the nature of the experience differ from that as perceived by an educator?

Exchange programs like those under Open House Canada offer potential value for those who are able to participate. However, only a limited number of students are able to do so. If this experience is considered worthwhile, then there is a need to create opportunities for others to be engaged in exchange experiences. It follows from this investigation that, the physical distance travelled does not determine the essential nature of the exchange experience. This means that within many communities there exist potential exchange groups. Given the variety of ethnic/cultural groups in Canada, exchange programs are possible on this basis within most communities. Similarly, communities are often composed of various economic groups. In addition, rural and urban communities exist within close proximity.

Life-worlds of young people may be different (or be perceived to be different) even though they are only a short bus ride apart. However, students do not often venture into these other worlds in a meaningful way. The other group's life-world may be commented on but not from the point of view growing out of direct experience. Thus, a variety of opportunities exist for entering and sharing the life-world of the other. The question arises: How would the nature of these experiences compare to the understanding of the exchange experience investigated in this study?

While this study investigated the meanings of fourteen and fifteen year olds, further research is necessary to investigate the interpretations of younger students and adults to see how their experiences and interpretations are similar or different. If there were differences, how would exchange programs have to be organized to meet the needs of various age groups?

Another area which needs further investigation is the students' perception of the exchange experience and other interactions as cultural interactions. Students often had trouble expressing the experience in cultural terms. Is this because the students do not have appropriate constructs to deal with this orientation? What approaches would assist in gaining further access to students' cultural perceptions? In this light there is a need to investigate other exchanges in which young people conceive of other group members as initially being culturally very different from themselves.

Aspects of the exchange experience appear relevant to other educational experiences as well. For example, greeting a new experience appears inherent in each learning situation which involves change. We need to further deepen our understanding of this notion of change and strangeness. In our society students often attend several schools during their education as parents move for employment purposes. Similarly, each year immigrants arrive in Canada and enter the new and strange world of the classroom. Yet what do we really understand about the nature of the experience of being a new student in a classroom? Without understanding the nature of this experience how can we as educators plan a worthwhile program for these individuals? In addition, students face an ever increasing degree of change in a variety of situations from the social adjustment necessary when parents divorce to the adaption required to new technology. How do students experience these changes? We need to understand more fully the nature of risk taking in these new situations. It, therefore, seems essential to explore further the notion of strangeness.

Students gained from and enjoyed the human interaction that the exchange situation provided. This contrasts with their regular school environment which often consists of parallel straight rows in which they are admonished to do their own work and to communicate only with their teacher. If the personal growth occuring during the exchange program is considered worthwhile, then the following issue arises: How can peer group experiences, interactions, and meanings contribute to the improved quality of education process rather than be seen as a hinderance?

Often our classrooms emphasize individual competitive activities.

The experiences of the exchange which allowed students to co-operate in such a way as to come to know and appreciate the other in a responsive, caring way emphasized 'co-operation rather than competition. If co-operation were to become the basis of classroom interaction, how would this affect the goal setting and structuring of the learning situation? How indeed do the natures of co-operative and competitive learning experiences differ?

During the exchange, students experienced what their education had not been providing, that is, relationships which demonstrated, concern, holistic interaction, and responsibility. They were often unable to find this environment in our schools which are commonly organized on the early industrial model of the factory. Now industry itself is changing with such developments as quality circles, job rotation, and co-operative team work. Are our schools in seeking to meet the needs of large numbers of students in one ediface operating on an outmoded model? The exchange experience calls into question the interactive quality of curriculum in our schools. What type of educational environment would evolve if the experiences of the exchange became the philosophical base for creating learning experiences?

As educational researchers, we have some common goals with other fields which investigate human thought and action. We endeavour to describe an experience, to analyze it, and to portray its meaning. This study has attempted to show the value and the continued need to explore how various human science disciplines and their approaches can be employed to complement each other in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of an experience. In this process the questions raised by one researcher foster the juxtaposition of ideas which could lead to new insights. This focusses attention on methodologies which permit a deeper understanding of an experience, and which encourage a thoughtful reflection upon the question which is being investigated. Methodologies need to be chosen on the basis of their potential contribution to a deeper understanding of the situation. Departmentalization in the investigative sciences has inhibited this co-operation. An important issue becomes how can researchers from various fields be encouraged to work co-operatively to understand the interpretive dimension of a pedagogical situation.

Education researchers are not only concerned with understanding what is, but need to know how to engage in reflective action. The pursuit of the good and worthwhile is inherent in an educator's struggle to understand an experience. If educators only sought to understand what is, there would be no need for research in education by educators. That is, the social scientists, for example, could investigate education as one topic in their range of investigations into human experience. For example, a sociologist could investigate and compare the operation and efficiency of groups and individuals operating to solve problems in the classroom. An educator would be interested in these findings but would additionally have to consider the nature of the experience itself in order to make judgments as to what experiences and approaches would be appropriate and worthwhile so as to develop the human potential of the students. It is this search for the good which necessitates the educational researcher's involvement.

The metaphor of education as a journey encourages us to reflect upon what experiences contribute in a worthwhile way to the meaningfulness of this journey. A fundamental question arises: What is the nature of this journey? Does the instructional process of schooling impede rather than contribute to the meaningfulness of this journey? The exploration of the exchange experience revealed the interlocking themes of: coming to know self and the other; development of a sense of we-ness; a mutual dwelling in the life-world of the other; coming to know the other in his/her sameness and difference; and a growth of friendship relationships. If these are considered worthwhile goals for education, what is there about our present educational system which assists in this journey and what is there that hinders this process? What must we as educators do in order to liberate ourselves and our students so that we are able to pursue a meaningful pedogogical search? How can we create learning environments which foster a positive atmosphere for participation, reflection, action, liberation, and responsibility?

The experiences of the young people involved in this exchange speak to this journey. Do we learn from the experiences and reflections of the exchange students: "It hurt when we left, but I now know I can make friends." "I have more confidence in myself." "It really felt good to be part of a group, to have a feeling that I belonged"? If we as educators do heed the words and experiences of exchange participants, what is our next step? What risks are we as educators willing to take?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

S.S. SURVEY RE: ALBERTA EXCHANGE

S.S. Survey Re: Alberta Exchange

On Friday, December 4th, 1981 grade nine and ten students at Van School were given a special assembly. The purpose of this assembly was to recruit students to become involved in an exchange program with a Native school in Alberta for one week. The students were shown slides of the area to be visited, given a talk and a letter which outlined the program. Only a few students responded "yes!" The question is, "Why did so few students take advantage of this opportunity?"

Please check one or more of the following items. If you check more than one, please number them in priority order as to why you did not enrol in the program.

1. School already has too many travel programs. ______
2. Trip would not take students far enough away from home. ______
3. Program too expensive. ______
4. Don't like Native Indians. ______
5. Program didn't sound interesting. ______
6. Slides and talk didn't sell me. ______
7. I'd miss too much regular school. ______
8. Didn't like the teachers involved. ______
9. I'm not turned on by the idea of staying on an Indian reserve. ______
10. My parents were against the idea. ______
11. Signing up for this program would disrupt (mess up) my elective program. ______
12. Wasn't told enough about the exchange program. ______
13. The actual trip didn't interest me. ______
14. The course part of the program didn't interest me. ______
15. Did not want to host a student in my house for a week. ______
16. Not able to host a student in my home for a week. ______
17. I did not feel it was a good idea to host a Native Indian in our home for a week. ______

18. I was afraid I'd get stuck taking an extra social studies course. ✓ ______

19. Concern over the cost of the trip kept me from signing up. ______

20. Other (Please explain): ______________________________

In your own words, please explain why you did not apply for the Alberta exchange.

Extra comments (or explanation) very much wanted:

APPENDIX B

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

1. If a friend asked you to explain what an exchange is what would you say?
2. What do you consider as the most important reason(s) for people not joining the exchange program?
3. How do you think an exchange program is different from, or the same as, your present involvement in school?
4. If the trip had been to Alberta for a ski excursion, would more students have gone?
5. Some students mentioned an exchange with groups from Quebec or other Canadian locations. Why would they choose these locations rather than Alberta?
6. Most of the other choices for exchange locations were large cities. Why do you think rural areas were not chosen?
7. A number of comments indicated that students were not interested in the exchange program. What would students see as interesting?
8. Some students wrote about their thoughts and feelings concerning Native people. When the words "Native people" are mentioned what words come to your mind? Describe any contact you have had with Native people.
9. What concerns did you, or other students, have about visiting an Indian reserve?
10. Did you discuss the exchange program with your parents? What was their reaction to the program?
11. How did your friends' choices and attitudes effect your decision to go, or not to go, on the exchange program?
12. What other things would you have liked to have known before you made your decision?
13. If there were no costs involved in the trip, would more students have been willing to go?
14. Who usually goes on field trips or exchanges?
15. What do you consider the most important aspects of an exchange?
16. How is an exchange different or the same as a holiday?

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH VAN SCHOOL STUDENTS

INTERVIEW WITH VAN STUDENTS

Don When we were talking about the exchange, did you both fill in the survey form?

June Uh ha.

Don From your own ideas and from talking to friends, what sort of reasons do you think people had for not wanting to go on this particular exchange program?

June Well, most of my friends that I talked to--like I wanted to go on this exchange. But as soon as we had the meeting, I went home and talked to my mom and dad. They said that they didn't want me to stay with Indians or anything (laugh). I said: "Why not? It would be a good experience." They didn't say too much about it just that they didn't want me to go. As for other exchanges, they thought it was alright. But it's just that a lot of them cost so much money.

Don You thought it was the cost rather than your parents particularly?

June Yeah.

Don What sort of things did you find? [John]

John It was too expensive. My parents okayed it but--

Don There was some confusion in terms of maybe the letter. They were applying for the grant. And if that came through, then it wouldn't have cost very much. If it didn't come through, they were still interested in seeing who would want to go.

June Umm.

Don If the grant had come through and most of it had been covered, would people have been more interested in going, or would they still have had other reasons why they wouldn't have wanted to go?

June I think there still would have been other reasons. Umm. I think most of the kids were--just parents. Because when they went to school, there was nothing like that. So they figured, oh boy! What's going to happen sending our little kids off to see a bunch of Indians (laugh)? Yeah, that's probably what they were thinking.

John Dangerous.

Don What gave you that idea?

John Like you know in T.V. like Indians--

June (Laugh) Indians are always the bad guys. Yeah!

Don Have either of you had experience with Native people?

John I have. I'm from Fiji, right? So where I was going to school, there were Native people.

Don Right. Was--do you think there's a difference between the situation in Fiji and say in Canada with the Native people?

John I haven't been to the real Canadian Natives. Down there and on T.V., it's almost the same.

Don They show that same kind of feeling?

John All their ceremonies are disappearing now already. Almost the same kind of thing.

Don So when you, your parents, or your friends see the Native people more like they use to be or do people--

June I haven't had personal contact experience with Native people or anything. I thought it would be a good experience. And I really wanted to go, and then you called the meeting. And everyone was interested to go. I just said to forget it because my parents weren't going to let me go, and there was no sense. I would have liked to have gone. But I can't go against my parents (laugh).

Don No, it would have been difficult.

John My parents--like my parents lived in a small village, right? So my parents and the Indians down there were friends, right? My dad use to drive for them. Down there they don't know much about that. That's why I think it's one of the reasons.

Don They were kind of wondering, unsure? A number of people mentioned in terms of location especially in the grade ten class that they would like to go on a trip but a trip to a different location.

June Yeah!

Don Some people gave different reasons. There seemed to be a lot of people that didn't want to go to Alberta, for example. Did you get that feeling?

June No my dad's from Calgary so I wouldn't have minded (laugh).

Don What about your friends? Talking with them, what sort of feeling did you get about where they wanted to go if they wanted to go on an exchange?

June I don't think it really matters. Umm. An exchange is an exchange. I mean as far as I'm concerned no matter what kind of exchange you go on; it's a good experience.

Don Maybe I should ask because people use it in different ways. If someone asked you what is an exchange, how would you say what it is to someone who hadn't heard of the word before?

June I would say it is basically learning about other people's ways and other people's ways of living. Umm. I don't know. That's just the definition that I have.

Don John, what does exchange mean to you?

John Here we have everything given to us, right? School we have own stuff, right?

June Lots of money. Most parents are well off.

John Here we have cars. There it's like horseback, like in the old days--like in the western countries. It's the same thing. Like Indians over there use horses, and you have to go fishing. Here you go to the market and take a whole box. And you have your fish.

Don So you would see their way of life as being different?

John Yeah.

Don In comparing the idea of holiday or trip with exchange, do you see any difference between those two words?

June Yeah I do. Vacation, do you mean? Okay, say you went on a camping trip or a trip to California. That's a vacation. You're learning things, but not in the same sense. It's not really educational.

John And it's not school work.

Don Okay. What's the difference then? I guess that's my next question. If you're talking about the difference between a trip and it's not school work, then how do you see an exchange as school work?

June I do in a sense because it's fun school work. But like I said, you're learning things. And as far as I'm concerned, an exchange would be better off for me than school because you're learning ways of life. In school you don't really learn ways of life; you just learn what everybody learns.

Don So you would see one way about doing this would be through exchange programs.

June Yeah!

Don And that would be different than a vacation or holiday?

June Uh ha.

Don Do you have some thoughts on that? [John]

John The same way.

Don A lot of people mentioned--actually I'll just show you [Looking at charts with students]. We just grouped some of the things together concerning the way people responded on that survey. Course issues. A lot of people mentioned they would have to miss--

June Yeah. Yeah!

Don They mentioned some dealing with electives. It would effect their choices. So these kind of things and then the one about interest. They said they weren't interested in this particular trip and then the expenses. Then things dealing with Natives like going in terms of staying in the home or having students stay here. So for this particular grade, that's how in terms of percentages.

June This is grade ten?

Don Yes.

June Because we're grade ten.

Don Right.

June Umm. I think if we had an exchange as an elective course more people would go than if it is like an extra thing. This wasn't a course was it?

Don There was some confusion. I think that was part of the problem. What it was going to be was part of Social Studies 10, or if you already had Social Studies 10, they were going to label it an elective. Does that make sense?

June Uh ha. Yes.

Don So that was the idea. It would be part of a social studies course. And it wouldn't have been an extra course. You still would have gotten credit for grade 10 social studies because it would only be part of it.

John There's another thing. Like we hear you say it is a course, but we have to miss some other classes, and some teachers won't sign the paper.

June I don't think that's it right now.

John No, not right now. But like, if you're talking a computer, we have only four programs, right? Some of them will be on the test so we cannot miss it.

June Yeah, I think that's another problem that I found. A lot of people ah didn't want to go because they'd miss other classes. Like right now--I cann't remember. When is this trip going to take place?

Don In April and May.

June In April and May. Yeah, like last semester I had three electives and two classes. I had math and English and the rest were electives. This semester I've got math, social, science, English, and one elective. So that would run me down for all my courses because I nearly do homework every night as it is (laugh).

Don So you felt you would have had to make up for that when you came back?

June Yeah.

Don That's an extra burden on you in that sense.

June Umm. I think a lot of people feel that same way. But I think that now we're oh the five by five system--we have five classes, five times a week a semester--it's more work because you have every class every day so you have to bring more homework home. But say if this was brought up when we were in grade eight, when then it wouldn't have been so hard because we had more electives. Everything was more spaced out. We didn't have as much homework.

Don Oh I see.

June Everything was more spaced out. Instead of having five classes of math a week, we only had three clases of math a week.

Don So you feel you wouldn't have missed as much in terms of academic work?

June Yeah. Like right now they switched to the system three times in three years. Every year its been different.

Don You don't get tired of it then!

June No you don't. Actually I'm getting tired of it already (laugh)! We get so much homework.

Don Do you think--like some people mentioned in terms of other trips--is there a skiing trip coming up?

John Yup.

Don Do you think if this trip were presented differently, still going to Alberta but was a skiing trip to Jasper or Banff, do you think more people would have been interested?

June Definitely!

John Yes. Like going to a Native village is different than going skiing. You do it every weekend. Native village you do it once in a blue moon. Nobody knows what will happen when they get there.

June Yeah. When you talk about skiing, well everybody talks about skiing. When talking about going to stay with some Indians in Alberta, you know people start getting a little hesitant and scared.

Don Did you sense any kind of reasons or thinking why they might be scared?

June Again I think it's just the picture you usually get of them on T.V. and stuff. I think personally T.V. is one of the most influential things in our lives because people watch lots of T.V. They get some pretty strange ideas in their heads (laugh)!

Don So you would see that as one source of--

June Uh ha.

Don Did friends play quite a role in people's decision to go or not to go?

June Oh definitely. Umm. People don't have their own minds anymore. They always go by others like if--like say--

John Opinions.

June Yeah. Opinions. Like it's if you're doing a test, and umm twenty people in the class write one answer, and you're the only one in the class that writes a different answer. And you're right and they're wrong. You'll still go with them because it's the majority of the people.

Don So it kind of pressures you?

June Yeah!

Don What about Native students coming to the homes? Was there any problems they saw that way?

June None that I saw. It was just the fact of going there.

Don More going the other direction?

June Yeah. Umm. Again how many times do you hear people talking about staying in--in with Natives? You don't hear it very often. It's the same with the Japan exchange,. The Japan exchange too. It's really not that bad there because I guess--because it's more in Japan--you want to go to another country.

Don So it's the appeal of a longer distance?

June Yeah.

Don It was also mentioned especially in grade ten quite a bit in terms of interest because that was quite high there.

June Umm.

Don People didn't seem interested although a lot of people just used "wasn't interested" and didn't explain much more. But there were a lot of people who wanted to go to another location. Quite often it was a large city. Was there any sense of why people would want to go to a larger city say, rather than a rural community of any kind?

June I think--

John They wouldn't be scared of going to a small like you know. For instance, right here in this room. You go in the library. It's free. You're going to a bigger place. You feel free. Going to a small place you'll--

June Feel cooped up.

John That's right.

Don What would that being cooped up stop you from doing?

John You'd be scared of doing everything even going to the washroom! You'd be scared going to the washroom!

June (laugh)

John You'd have to ask the teacher or somebody there where is it and which way to go, right? Down in a big city you know the areas. You'll ask. You won't be afraid to go.

June Yeah.

Don So in going to a large city you didn't know say Quebec--

John You'd be yeah.

Don It would be easier than going to a small comunity?

June Yeah! Yeah! I think so--I don't know. It's hard to say like I've never been. Never stayed with Indians before (laugh).

Don So there was that kind of feeling of coming into a situation that was new. Have you had to change schools much when you didn't know anybody? [June]

June Umm. I've only changed school three times. But when I came here, it was like that. Because there was just like the odd, this is a small school so you know most everybody by now. But when I first stepped in here in grade eight, I thought--holy cow! Look at all the people I'd never seen in my life before. I was scared. Like now it's different. You know everybody and everybody knows you. I think another reason why I didn't go on the trip is--umm. Another reason why my parents didn't is because our school is involved in everything as it is. I myself am involved in other things. And another reason why I didn't go--just because I was too busy with my school work. I have student council work. I'm involved with that. Different sports and stuff so I was just really busy as it was.

Don Sure. You had other kinds of commitments.

June Yeah. I'm President so I have a lot of commitments (laugh).

John Well I didn't have that!

June (Laugh)

Don (Laugh)

John I was in the hospital.

June John was in the hospital.

John That same month before everything was okay, right?

Don Right.

John And I got hurt. That's one reason why I couldn't go.

Don Sure. Couldn't take you on a stretcher very easily (laugh).

June How long were you in the hospital for?

John A week. I was in the cast for three weeks.

June He dislocated his hip (laugh).

John Can't walk with a cast (laugh).

Don No (laugh). Were there any--like you mentioned in terms of the parents --concerns? Did many people go home with the decision for their parents to make, or did most students make up their mind before they went home?

John About fifty percent made up their minds here. They wanted to try new things like me and her. After Fiji I tried a new thing here so why not go all the way?

June Yeah. I think that there's a lot of people with the same, in the same position as us when we go home you know. I don't know. It's just I think again most of the parents didn't have that then so they are kind of scared. For you know, they think what's going to happen? So I think a lot of it was parent concern--at least fifty percent. If you look at the kids in our school, everybody likes to get involved. But it's parents a lot of the times.

Don Sure.

John They were double minded. Let them go and don't let them go.

June Yeah.

Don Do you think there would have been, let's say something was being planned for next year, what sort of suggestions would you give for people who were involved in planning in terms of getting something off the ground?

June You mean from the person who's going point of view?

Don From either point of view. From the person who's going--

June Of the persons organizing. Umm. I'd say that it wasn't really pushed enough. There wasn't enough advertising. There was only one meeting. Yeah, there was only one where you presented it. And the one meeting to find--put whether the people wanted to go or not. And then the survey afterwards. Umm. I don't think there was enough advertising stuff. If you want to get things off the ground, you really have to advertise them.

John Most people in the school, some of them didn't know about it.

Don You mean they may have been away that one time that it was presented?

June Either that, or they didn't bother going to the presentation.

John They thought it would be coming up all over like the volleyball team. It's every day, right? If the volleyball is clear on Friday, they'll announce it from Monday to Friday so everybody can get out.

Don So you feel it should be promoted and advertised a lot more than it had been?

June Umm. Definitely!

Don Is there anything else? Like some things were explained and other things weren't. Is there some things that you think should be further explained or talked about?

June Not really. Again I think it just needs to be pushed a lot more. Maybe at each time that it is advertised, explain it to people. Just if all the teachers worked together, or even if you took it to the Student Council. They could have organized it a lot better. Umm. People would have had more ideas about it. People would have talked about it. It's like any activity. You've got to keep pushing it, pushing it!

Don Do you have any other ideas that you have or your friends?

June Umm. No I guess (laugh).

Don Okay. Thanks for sharing your time and ideas with me.

APPENDIX D

EXCHANGE PROGRAM SURVEY FORM FOR B.C. SCHOOL STUDENTS

EXCHANGE PROGRAM SURVEY - B.C. SCHOOL

We would appreciate your help in filling out this survey so that we can have a better understanding of your thoughts on the exchange program with Peyak School in Alberta. You do not have to sign your name. Please answer as openly and freely as you can. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. If a friend asked you to describe what an exchange progam is, what would you say?

2. Have you been on an exchange before? Yes [ ] No [ ]
   If you answered "yes", what group was the exchange with?

3. Would you describe what you were thinking as you were making your decision to go, or not to go on the exchange program to Alberta. Explain your reasons for your final decision.

4.

If you decided not to take part in the Alberta Exchange, please check the statement or statements which were important in making your decision. Please number them in priority, for example, place the number "1" on the space at the end of the statement which is your most important reason for not participating in the Alberta exchange, number "2" beside the second most important reason and so on.

Some of my friends decided not to go so I decided not to as well. ____

I wasn't told enough about this exchange program. ____

An Indian student's life is so different from my own I don't know what we would have in common. ____

I would rather have an exchange with a group living in a city. ____

I would not feel safe on an Indian reserve. ____

There was too little time to make up my mind. ____

I wanted to go but my parents were against it. ____

I don't like Indians. ____

The trip would not take students far enough away from Vancouver. ____

I'm not turned on by the idea of staying on an Indian reserve. ____

I didn't discuss it with my parents. I made the decision not to go on my own. ____

I would feel strange in an Indian home. ____

Alberta did not interest me as I have been there before. ____

I wanted an exchange with a French community. ____

I did not feel it would be a good idea to host an Indian student in our home. ____

The activities that we would do in Alberta would not be very exciting. ____

I would not feel safe on an Indian reserve. ____

Other (please explain) ____

5. Would you please describe any experience you have had with Indian people.

APPENDIX E

STUDENT SURVEY RESULTS: B.C. SCHOOL STUDENTS

STUDENT SURVEY RESULTS - B.C. SCHOOL

Introduction

Since the B.C. School co-ordinator was unable to finalize arrangements with a Quebec school, he expressed an interest in establishing an exchange with Peyak School in Alberta. After a short period of organizing, the B.C. co-ordinator decided that an insufficient number of the group of twenty-five students were interested in proceeding with the exchange program. At this point permission was granted to administer a questionnaire to the students. Of the twenty-five students, eleven indicated that they were unable, or unwilling, to participate.

The questionnaire (Appendix D) was administered in two parts in one sitting. The first section asked the students to describe their thoughts on the meaning of an exchange program, to outline their previous involvement in exchange programs, and to discuss their thinking process while resolving the issue of participation in the Alberta exchange. The second section included an adaption of the ranking item in "Survey A" and a question requesting a description of their experiences with Native people.

Presentation and Discussion of Ranked Responses

Only the eleven students who rejected involvement in the Alberta exchange program completed the ranking question. Since most of the students ranked seven items or less, the ranked responses were weighted as follows: first (7), second (6), third (5), fourth (4), fifth (3), sixth (2), and seventh (1). The weighted responses were summed for each statement. In turn, the percentage of the total weighted amount was calculated for each statement. This information is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Ranking of Student Responses - B.C. School Survey

Rank	Percent of Weighted Amount	Item
1	18	I wanted an exchange with a French community.
2	11	The activites that we would do in Alberta would not be very exciting.
3	9	I'm not turned on by the idea of staying on an Indian reserve.
4.5	8	Alberta did not interest me as I have been there before.
4.5	8	I wanted to go but my parents were against it.
6.5	7	I would rather have an exchange with a group living in a city.
6.5	7	The trip would not take students far enough away from Vancouver
8.5	6	I would not feel safe on an Indian reserve.
8.5	6	Some of my friends decided not to go so I decided not to as well.
10	5	There was too little time to make up mind.
11	4	I would feel strange in an Indian home.
12.5	3	I was not told enough about the exchange program.
12.5	3	Other: "I felt there was not much to learn or benefit by going that it was not worth it."
14	2	I didn't discuss it with my parents. I made the decision not to go on my own.
15	1	I don't like Indians.
16	.5	An Indian student's life is so different from my own that I don't know what we would have in common.

In order to gain a further understanding of the ranking results, the responses were grouped in categories as in Table 2 below:

Table 2

Reasons Provided by B.C. School Students for Not Participating in the Proposed Exchange Program

Percent of Weighted Amount	Reason Provided
23	Native issues
19	Lack of interest
18	Wanted French exchange
8	Parents opposed
7	Wanted urban exchange
7	Location too close
6	Friends not participating
5	Limited time to make a decision

This particular group had been formed originally to plan an exchange with a French speaking community in Quebec. A number of students felt that this was the only specific type of exchange that they wanted. Even though they were willing to participate in an exchange activity, they did not want this to be in a Native community. Unlike the students from Van School who considered course issues and cost as deterrents, the B.C. students had already considered these factors as manageable. Therefore, the negative perception of Native student involvement became more evident in their responses.

The two student groups considered other similar factors when rejecting involvement in the program such as parental disapproval concerning staying with Native students, preference for an urban location a further distance away from their community, lack of interest in the location of Alberta, and friends' decisions not to be involved.

Although the B.C. students were willing to enter the life-worlds of French speaking students from Quebec, a number of these same students would not risk stepping into the life-worlds of Native students.

APPENDIX F

EXCHANGE PROGRAM FORMS:
B.C. SCHOOL STUDENTS

Exchange Program Form A

Your help would be appreciated in responding to the following questions. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer as openly and freely as you can.

1. What questions or concerns are in your mind with regards to the visit of the Quebec students?

2. Ask yourself the question: "Who am I?". Then complete the following statements with a word or group of words.

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

I am ______________________________

3. What expectations do you have for the visit of the Quebec students?

4. Considering your thoughts and feelings concerning your billet please complete the following statements with a word or group of words.

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

My billet is ______________________________

Exchange Program Form B

1. Read the ways you completed the statement: "My billet is ____." Cross out the ones you do not agree with now. Complete additional statements about your billet on that same page.

2. After reading your response to the question: "What questions or concerns are in your mind with regards to the visit of the Quebec students?", comment on how your concerns did or did not work out. Write your response in the space below your original answer.

3. Read your response to the question: "What expectations do you have for the visit of the Quebec students?". Comment on how your expectations were or were not met. Write your response below your original response.

4. List three experiences that were meaningful for you during the exchange.

a.

b.

c.

5. What changes would you make in the exchange to improve the experience for you?

6. Describe one incident or experience during the exchange that was meaningful for you. Provide as much detail as you can.

Exchange Program Form C

1. Read the ways you completed the statement: "My billet is _____." Cross out the ones you do not agree with now. Complete additional statements about your billet on that same page.

2. Read the ways you completed the statement: "I am ____." Cross out the ones you do not agree with now. Complete additional statements about yourself on that same page. If there is not enough room, use the other side of the same page.

3. Read your original description of what you thought an exchange program was. Describe how you would change your description so that it better captures what you experienced during the exchange.

4. What change(s) would you make in the exchange to improve the experience for you? Describe the suggested change(s) as fully as you can.

5. Describe one way that you have changed as a result of participating in this exchange.

6. Describe one incident or experience during this part of the exchange that was meaningful for you. Provide as much detail as you can.

APPENDIX G

INTRODUCTORY LETTERS AND PERMISSION FORM

April 15, 1982

Dear

I am a graduate student interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the meaning of an exchange experience. To enable me to do so, the School Board and B.C. School have permitted me to be involved in the B.C. - Quebec Exchange Program.

So that I may gain a depth of understanding, I have asked for two volunteers to take pictures of their experiences and to discuss their experiences with me. The cost of the film and the developing will be covered by myself.

In this study neither the school nor the students are mentioned by name so that their identities are protected. Your son/daughter has expressed an interest in participating in this study. If you wish to give permission for him or her to do so, would you please sign the enclosed form.

If you wish to obtain further information, please contact me at 681-3680.

Yours truly,

Don Northey

Encl. Letter from University Adviser

Permission form

Department of Secondary Education
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
November 5, 1981

To Whom It May Concern:

By way of this letter I would like to introduce to you Mr. Don Northey, who is a graduate student involved in a program leading to a degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Secondary Education at the University of Alberta. Don is engaged in a research project investigating the pedagogic dimensions of the lived experiences of young people involved in a school student exchange program. On the basis of the strength of his research proposal and his graduate record, Don Northey is supported by a Doctoral Fellowship Grant awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanites Research Council of Canada. In the hope that you may facilitate his endeavours, I warmly recommend Don Northey as a serious researcher deeply interested in the educational experiences of our children.

Sincerely,

Max van Manen, Ph.D.
Professor of Education

MVM/lb

I hereby give permission for my son/daughter to take part in a research project concerning an investigation of an exchange program between B.C. School students and Ecole St. Jean students.

Signature

____

APPENDIX H

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH TOM

INTERVIEW WITH TOM

This was the third in the series of interviews with Tom. Before recording this interview at the school, we viewed the video tape sent by Ecole St. Jean. Just as the taping commenced, we were discussing Tom's visit to his father's home on Vancouver Island. Tom is presently living with his mother and his step-father.

Don What were you busy doing then?

Tom Like the first day, my birthday's on Friday, we celebrated it. Then Saturday morning we got up and got on the ferry. We went over and he picked us up. Then we helped him unload his--you know mini storage type of thing.

Don Oh, right.

Tom Helped him move that into another building. After a few hours of that, then we went out to a barbecue. Next day we went flying with his plane. He has a plane.

Don What kind of plane is it?

Tom It's a Cessna Cardinal with retractable gear. Like my brother got to sit in the front seat first. My younger brother he's ten years old.

Don Right.

Tom He got to fly for a bit. I think it's the first time he's really flown. He flew for quite a little time. Then we switched places. It's really neat.

Don He uses it privately or commercially?

Tom Well he does aerial photography so it's kind of half and half. It was a pretty good weekend.

Don Yeah, more exciting than mine. I didn't do too much. Then you were back on Sunday?

Tom We came on Sunday afternoon.

Don You mentioned that you go over about one weekend a month?

Tom Yeah when I can. Some months I can't.

Don You were talking last time about the kind of places that are favorite places or comfortable places. You mentioned your grandfather's orchard area. Any other places like that?

Tom Yeah. Well I like being alone sometimes. I don't know why, but ah--I don't know but I have when I'm alone--I can just do whatever I want. Think when I want. Not have to answer questions. Like things like that. I just like to be alone. But like I said I don't go exploring around here too much. Like I bet there's a spot in the trees by the lake that you can sit down and nobody comes along. Like I don't like being--especially when I'm just thinking in one of these places--I don't like being interrupted. I like to be where no one knows type of thing. I bet if I went into the woods by the lake that I could be alone and far from things as far as possible.

Don Uh huh.

Tom Like I used to go to this--like where I used to live we used to have an apartment. And there used to be this trail and when I first went along it seemed pretty complicated, but after a while it was a pretty simple trip. You just go up and across the field, and then you go into the woods. Then you get on to a little gravel trail. Maybe that wide. Horse type trail.

Don Sure.

Tom Then you're down and into another path, and you go down to this little pond there. And it's pretty well surrounded by trees, and I used to go there a lot--well not really a lot, not like every day. But it would be once a month or something like that or as many as five times a month. Just to be alone. Then I found out. Then I followed one of the trails once. And it wasn't too far from this little road.

Don Right.

Tom I felt like it was too close, and it didn't seem as--I don't know what the word is "secluded"?

Don Yes.

Tom As it used to be.

Don Sort of like someone was intruding in your space?

Tom Well a bit (laugh). Well somebody comes along there. And another thing you go to a spot, and there's somebody else there. It's not very good (laugh).

Don It's hard to be alone at that point.

Tom But around here I don't know just my room, I guess, and the garage. I cleaned it out the workshop. Sometimes I go out there just to fool around.

Don Right. Do you use the workshop as well?

Tom Yeah. Well we have this bench like it's around front. The cars come in the front and then there's the door. Then my house is at the end of the lawn. And then there's a door out here, and it goes to the lane. And it comes out to the road. Okay, remember when we went by?

Don Right.

Tom Well the garage is at the back and then there's a door. It opens and you go to a little--it's called a place, or it's not really a road. And then it comes down. I don't know what they call that. I guess it's an avenue. I'm not sure. And that's a few houses down from the house. You probably didn't notice.

Don No, I didn't. I just turned around.

Tom Oh yeah. The garage it's ah there's a bench and all his tools were over it. What I did was sorted out the tools and hung them up. First of all, I was proud of doing that because my dad was going to do that, but he just never had the time. So I thought I would surprize him. I did that for him.

Don Does he work in carpentry?

Tom No. He's the kind of guy--like he's a general manager of a musical wholesale. He's the kind of a guy that just. It's hard to explain. Like he has a lot of tools that he'll probably never need. But he buys them anyway just so that he has the complete set in case he ever wants them or something. I can't explain why.

Don Do you work in that area?

Tom Yeah. Cause in grade eight I learned some shop and saws, tools, electric saws.

Don It's handy to have that set up. Any other favorite places?

Tom Umm. Not really.

Don Do you spend a fair amount of time in your room?

Tom Yeah, I do--I guess. Like my room's pretty big. It has a small bathroom connected. Like it's intended for the parents. It's just the main bedroom. And my parents used to--like when we first moved for a couple of months, they were in that room, and I slept in our recreation room in a hideaway couch.

Don Right.

Tom I guess they decided that wasn't really good enough so I don't know really why, but then we switched. They brought in a bed and put it in the rec room, and now it's their room.

Don Oh I see.

Tom No it's more of a family room. It's their room. It's pretty big. So I've got this nice bedroom. Their bedroom is bigger in a way. It's got couches and stuff. It's most of the house from the front as you drive by the street. There's the school. Like on the front of the house--like it's divided in half--there used to be a carport. And now it's the room, and now it goes back until it gets to my room. It's not too wide this way, but it's half the house this way. Then there's my room actually all three: the living room, kitchen. It's only a one floor house, but it's really wide.

Don Covers most of the lot.

Tom Well, we have a pretty big back lot.

Don It must be a pretty fair size lot then. Is it open? Are there other houses behind it?

Tom Yeah on the other side of the lane. That lane is in the backyards. Then the houses that the backyards are their front yards are on. That's where this lane goes like that. There's only about four houses.

Don Umm.

Tom Actually, we're the only house that has a carport. No, there's another house but there's this part and then there's this part. It doesn't have a name or anything. And there's another house here. Anyway it's got one of those round things cul de sac and it's--oh boy--called Green Place. Then there's another street here that continues on up here somewhere because it's been cut in two. And that leads on to Simon.

Do Where do most of the students live?

Tom It's funny that you should mention that cause for some reason the students who came out of Simon School all live around my area. It's just a coincidence that we live there. But all the students--like it's fairly wealthy, I guess. Then around here they're more higher class well not really where I live but they tend to be a bit. It's more expensive I think. And I don't know why, but maybe the kids coming from this school, they tend to have a good reputation and all that stuff. They tend most of them, I think, are pretty good students. And most of them volunteered for this exchange. If we could go into Mr. Smith's room, we have a map which tells you where everybody lives. And we have a couple over here say and a couple behind us and then this whole cluster all very close together. They're all touching each other. Most of us are right around the school, almost touching the school.

Don You'll be quite close together when the other students come out.

Tom Yeah. It's strange how that happened. Maybe its just a coincidence, but I think it's something to do with the school.

Don Yeah that could be. Because they have a choice of coming here or some other place else?

Tom No, well they have to come here, but the fact that most of the students who are on this exchange are from that area for some reason. Instead, like there's lots of people that come from here, but they seem to be more the rowdy type that wear the jean jackets. Generally. That's just a generalization.

Don That's right.

Tom But it's true.

Don They haven't participated in the exchange or the French class to begin with?

Tom Yeah, they're probably taking French and I don't know. It's just strange how it came about.

Don You were mentioning in terms of people's opinions what the French would think of the students here. Do you get any feedback on what opinions students have of French Canadians?

Tom Well, we know that they're different from us and by the way are you going to interview them too?

Don I would like to but my ability in French is very poor. Because of the timing, I haven't had much of an opportunity to be involved with them. That was my original idea. Like in your case with Guy, but the way things are going time wise it doesn't seem like it's going to be very easy. That whole week you're busy with activities.

Tom Yeah. Your're going to want to talk to us, to talk to me, anyways during the exchange?

Don Well, at least afterwards because I know you're going to be really busy during that whole week. They're be so many things going on during the days and nights. I wouldn't want to take time away. I'm going to be coming out to some of the things during the week. Probably more time if you can spare the time afterwards. I think you'll be going pretty steady by the sounds of your schedule. You mentioned that you thought they were different. Can you think of any ways?

Tom Well their culture is different. They really have a unique culture. It's not the same in any place in the world. It's not the same as France. That might be close but they're so far away from France. Their different ways so they're really different.

Don Can you give me an example of their culture being different?

Tom Well most of the stuff, like our teacher handed out a sheet. It said how the Quebec people have come from France like they were mostly missionaries and stuff trying to convert the Indians. Then other people came. I don't know really why, but they're really religious and all that stuff. And then France broke away from them. England attacked them at the Plains of Abraham, and they were defeated. They still don't like it. They kind of rebelled against that. So they have--like around the 1960's the business language was English, and now it's all French. Just things like that. They have a unique culture. They're the only people who speak French in Canada except for bits in Ontario. But I don't know they just probably mostly just because-- [noise on his watch]

Don Is it an alarm?

Tom No. It's a power. It's four o'clock.

Don Oh.

Tom Scared?

Don I thought you had a heart pacer or something! When talking about culture, it's a hard question to look at sometimes. If someone was to say: "How do you describe your own culture?", what would you tell them?

Tom It is hard (laugh). Well--

Don Say you were trying to explain to one of the students from Quebec before they came and they were talking about culture, would there be anything that you would tell them?

Tom We really don't have much of a culture here. In religion, we're--I don't know, we really don't have much that we can call culture.

Don When you're using the term culture, you can use it in a lot of different ways. When you're using the word "culture", do you mean things that people do in terms of activities or?

Tom Well I was trying to be very general. Like sometimes I think of culture that was developed from the past. Like the French Canadians have been treated, well from their point of view anyways, badly by the English so their culture is kind of—well their culture in a way used to be religious and all that stuff. And then it changed. Now their culture seems to be turning to French spoken. And I think of what happened in the past. What they have to be proud of. What they're proud of.

Don Right.

Tom But we don't. Like that's what I was thinking mostly. But we don't. B.C. hasn't done anything really nothing really important that we can be proud of.

Don You see it more as the historical things that happened?

Tom Yeah, that's part of it. In a way--ah--like I guess it depends on the individual. But if you're talking about me, like I go to a church. Where I used to live, like I'm descended from one of the pioneers. That's my great, great, great grandfather--three greats. It's easier if you say: my grandfather's mother's, mother.

Don Right (laugh).

Tom He came from Scotland in 1850 or something like that. Was shipwrecked off the west coast of Vancouver Island. I guess they went around, what's it called--the Cape?

Don That's right.

Tom South America.

Don The Horn is South Africa.

Tom I don't know. Anyway there's those two. I always get mixed up.

Don That's the route he came on.

Tom I think that's the way he came. The Indians found him. Like they floated. Like some of them, only about 16, survived the crash. They floated on rum barrel, rum kegs. And then they got on the beach. They were drinking. It was New Year's Eve.

Don Yeah.

Tom And they were all drunk. That's how they crashed and my ancestor was only sixteen years old at the time not much older than me. Anyway, then they got on the beach. They were still pretty drunk. They started to drink the rum (laugh). The Indians came and captured them and made them slaves for two years. Anyway I'm not sure of the details. But then the Hudson Bay Company found out about them. You know--George Douglas--I think was his name. He was the first governor of B.C. And he, I think, went with them so my ancestor saw him. But anyway, about culture, so well--anyway my ancestor, I always call him William Tomkins. That's his name. Well he worked for the Hudson Bay Company, and they said okay you can have a certain amount of--like they paid him all his money. He bought 200 acres of this valley, a really nice valley. Right where I used to live.

Don Does anyone live in it now?

Tom Yeah one of my relatives lives in it something like a great, great aunt. Not to sure of that. He had fifteen children so of course there's a lot of relatives. I didn't know that until I was about eight and my mother explained it. I felt really proud. So I talked to my grade four teacher and gave him a book. Like we were talking about, oh gee, just the local area with one of my teachers, and I explained what I knew. And then I wrote up some stuff. I felt proud that I could do this. And my grandfather knows a lot more than I do. The one that I'm related through. My culture. In a way I'm proud of being pioneers.

Don Do you feel a connection to the Scottish background itself?

Tom Not really. I don't know. I don't really know too much about the Scottish. When I hear bagpipes, I feel I'm Scottish and all that stuff. I really don't think of myself as being Scottish. I think more of Canadian.

Don I noticed that in the exchange form. Not too many people mentioned that kind of thing--Scottish, Chinese. It was't mentioned very often. And when they were mentioning their billet, they didn't mentioned them being French.

Tom Well, I think some of them think that's too obvious for the people being French. I might have put that down because I was trying to think of as many things as I could.

Don Right.

Tom When I was doing mine.

Don That could be. Sometimes we take things for granted.

Tom Yeah. Sometimes the billet doesn't have to be French.

Don Yeah.

Tom I don't know if I put it down or not.

Don I was just looking at the things people put down. I know everybody was kind of rushed and the room was hot. Everybody was eager to get out (laugh). When people were talking about concerns or issues, I think there were two that people seemed to emphasize a lot. One was the whole idea of communicating, and the other one was sort of the idea of getting along as friends.

Tom I think that's what I put.

Don What other--or did people mention much about that when they're talking about the student's coming?

Tom Yeah. Well Thursday after school we have French. It's like for the exchange. Generally we learn French. Some more that others. But I don't know but we learn vocabulary that we can use. Like at the dinner table the name of a plate, cup, foods just so that we can try and communicate. I think we'll get along. I think we'll be able to communicate some.

Don So you don't see it as a major problem?

Tom Well I'd also like to ask them some things to get into the technical stuff and how he feels.

Don Right.

Tom Just like the stuff you're asking me almost. Just to get an idea because I want to learn all I can.

Don Sure.

Tom But we probably won't get to do that.

Don You think that might be a hard area to get into in terms of communicating?

Tom What we could probably do is write down what we think. And that would probably be easier, and I could probably read French. I could always have a French-English dictionary if there's a word that comes up that I don't know. Just when they say it, they have--they put the words together.

Don Yeah two words sound like one word almost.

Tom Yeah. Like I is "je" and like, "amie". And you put them together, and it sounds like "j'aime". And if you're—I don't know. It goes with the sound. "Je peck" or something like that.

Don Right. So if they talk quickly then the words come together.

Tom Yeah. Well they also do that it's proper French. Proper grammar. They are supposed to say that. So (laugh) when they are talking French it's even worse. Quickly, it's even worse.

Don I found that same thing when I was in other countries when people were using English as their second language. I really had to slow down. I began to pronounce all my words so carefully which I normally don't do when I'm talking to another Canadian. I was away so long that when I came back I started to talk like that (laugh). I sort of sounded really out of it. Then it took a while and I was back into it again. You really notice the change.

Tom It's probably a good experience.

Don Yeah. I think so. Any other kinds of concerns or worries that you think people might have about this part of the exchange?

Tom Well those two things that you mentioned are important. (tape ended)

Tom To have some private times so we can just talk. And like when we're touring. Like, I hope they're not going to keep us all together and keep on like elementary kids. Like I hope they're going to say: "Be back here in half an hour. Tour the park but be back here in a half an hour. If you don't have a watch, borrow one" or something like that. Like treat us so that we can go off and show him what I know and some of the things he would like instead of--I don't know. Just talk with them. I don't like just everybody being there with one tour guide the whole time.

Don Yeah. Less structure. More that you can design on your own.

Tom Yeah, in a way and trying to communicate. Like I've read one story where these guys are using signs and when they finally accomplish them, they're so proud. I guess I want to be able to do that too, to be able to try and come up with something.

Don Whereas being on an individual basis allows you to do that and a large group it doesn't happen as often?

Tom Yeah. Like it would be hard what with guys talking to translate it into French. Trying to help. But I don't know.

Don Do you get many evenings free or do you know yet?

Tom I don't know. There's not much we can do in the way of entertainment. Like movies things like that. I was thinking of taking him to a movie, but I forgot the fact that he probably won't understand every sixth word (laugh). And I don't know, but we might be able to go swimming. I like swimming. Things like that. But I hope they're going to have enough time. And I guess if we write letters. Like I always want to write letters afterwards, but I get involved in my other school work and in summer I'm away. Then school work in September.

Don It's hard to keep it up. It's easier to phone, but of course it's more expensive (laugh). People were talking about expectations. A lot of people used the expression either a "good experience", or "an exciting experience", or a "fun experience". Those can be quite common expressions that we use. What would you interpret when people say that?

Tom I don't know. I guess everybody has different ideas of what they would like. You mean just what do they mean when they say that?

Don Yeah. I guess part of the problem was that there wasn't much time so people didn't have the time to explain, and maybe they assumed others know. I guess I was wondering what do people mean when they say an expression. Like you say it could mean a lot of things. "Good experience", I was wondering what sort of idea people had.

Tom "Experience"--like that's a term used a lot so people might say it without--you know. When you talk about a Quebec exchange, you just write "good experience" without thinking. What does it mean?

Don Exactly.

Tom They just might use it as a terminology word for ah--but for myself, I don't know for other people, but I want to get along with and be able to communicate. Learn more French. I'd like to learn a lot of French. Like I said, I'd like to be fluent, and I'd like to learn a lot of just basic vocabulary. Like not really basic, but French in a way, like how to learn it is two different parts. There's something that you learn in school and that's grammar. Then there's the vocabulary that you will learn mostly a lot of it on this exchange. And preparing for it. So hopefully I'll learn a lot of vocabulary. Grammar will be the same maybe worse a bit (laugh) because they're different. Like we're speaking Parisian French in school pretty well. Very ah--I don't like: "I hope to meet you again someday my good friend." Kind of thing you know (laugh).

Don Right (laugh). More formal sounding.

Tom Yeah. No slang. Like they are going to have slang too. I don't think that they have as much as we do though. They'll probably have slang. Of course, the different pronunciations and totally different words sometimes.

Don Right. I was wondering about that because there were only a couple of people that mentioned that about wanting to learn more of the French language. And when people talked about expectations especially. I though more people might have mentioned that, but not too many people talked about that.

Tom Well if they defined it. If you asked them to define it, then they might give more of like I said.

Don Yeah. Some of those ideas might come out.

Tom What you could do is Thursday after school write down some of what you said "good experience". Would you like to define that. You might get stuff like what I said if you want to do it (laugh).

Don I'm interested in that. Like you say, people use expressions and don't always mean the same thing. It's interesting to know what people are thinking.

Tom It ought to be interesting. That's part of being a good experience learning something that's different.

Don How would you say distinguish from the in-class kinds of experience that you have in your other classes as compared to this kind of experience?

Tom Well in a way in class seems like you learn a lot but you learn verbs. I always thought that French was—French class is pretty good really. For being in the classroom, they do a lot. Being a language, they can teach you like. But for socials you have to go on field trips if you want to get something to learn. I think that's the best thing you can do. As long as you've explained it before and know what to look for and what we're doing, then go on a field trip. In a way that's what this could be, I guess. Like we learn French so it's kind of a break. It's a field trip, but both sides are going to do it too.

Don Right. So there's an exchange of people going back whereas a field trip this isn't necessary?

Tom Well I guess a trip would just be looking at something. But this is going to be seeing other people. I don't know if they've been learning English. I don't know if they've been taught English. Anything about us. Like we aren't really taught about Canada that much anymore. It's kind of strange because some other countries would know more about Canada, and we might know more about their country because we studied it. Like Japan. Like I studied Japan about two or three times. I'm on my third time—no I guess it's my second. I studied it in grade six. Now we're getting into more detail, more specific socials.

Don Is there things that bug you about school?

Tom You mean subject?

Don Doesn't matter.

Tom About the school itself. What I don't like in school is that you have a good thing then someone comes along and vandalizes it. Especially in the shop or something like that. Well, for example, we had an eye wash station down in one of the shops. When you get something in your eye, give it a squirt. It's suppose to clean it out. One day the department head teacher of the shops, he's got about four teachers under him and he teaches electronics, went in there and was checking around. Then he found this thing that had holes poked into and everything. If there had been, for one thing it's a safety device. They shouldn't touch it. If they had been an eye wash situation, then they wouldn't have been able to do it. They'd had to run down to the bathroom. I don't know. One of the things that bugs me about class is the people that don't want to learn. They ruin it for everybody. I really cann't imagine. I wish I could in a way. I guess I could. I'd really like to see a school where there is no vandalism and everybody's just there to work you know. If they destroyed anything deliberately, they were always careful and stuff. Then the school board wouldn't waste. I mean the school board would give them more money because they don't waste as much. That's why the high school gets more stuff than we do because they're not going to ruin it as much. They get stuff like computers. If we had computers in every room, there would probably be some guy who would go out, when the teachers not looking; with a knife and stab it or something (laugh). Or get you know put paint on the key board or smash the screen. But in a school like the one I was talking about, the ideal school, a computer in every room, the students would think gee I have trouble with this like I cann't understand something and go over to the computer. The computer helps them and explains the problem to them.

Don Do you see a lot of students as not being interested in what's happening in school?

Tom Not too many I guess. There seems to be always one in a class. Some I guess there's more than others. Like more than one in the class. Well, that's just one thing I don't like about school. There's not really too much. Like I get along pretty well in school. Like if you asked someone else they might not agree as much. But I like most of the teachers. Most of the teachers I talk with after school. We're almost like friends you know. They understand what I'm like. Like the teacher I was talking about, the electronics teacher, he trusts me with a lot because I've, I don't know. I guess you'd have to ask him why. He trusts me but ah like he'd trust me with anything. His car! His life (laugh)!

Don He must of related it to your past. He obviously trusts you.

Tom He must have. Anyway. So there's not too many things that I don't like about school. But sometimes homework is a problem. Sometimes like our social teacher we do stuff in class. We don't usually do stuff at home because social this year is a lot more of a listening course than writing notes from his point of view anyway. Teachers might teach it differently. He's--I like him anyway. It's not easy. You still have to do the tests and that stuff. I like that method for socials anyway. I don't know if it would work. It probably won't work for too many other subjects. Math and English you have to practice at it. Read and practice the stuff. Write the stuff. Science is about the same as socials in a way because you're learning things. I would like to do labs, experiments, more than I would like to learn something doing some notes. The notes are always helpful. They teach you a lot of things so I don't mind that. Are you going to be a teacher of socials?

Don Yes I have taught before.

Tom You have? Oh. Just to clarify my mind a bit because I didn't understand what you're doing. Why are you doing this topic and stuff?

Don Well, I've always been interested in exchanges. Both from my own experiences and working with groups. Sometimes when you're working with it, you don't have as much chance to realize what the experience is. What's going on. So one of the areas I'm interested in looking at is the idea of the exchange, what it means to the people involved with the idea of finding out more of what's involved. That's the main idea I'm interested in. There's very little that's been written about exchanges especially from the point of view of the people that are involved. What's written is often based on a checklist kind of thing. I was interested in working with people getting to talk with people over a longer period of time. Getting to understand the experience better. I don't know if that answers you question.

Tom Yeah. It did.

Don There's something else you're wondering about?

Tom Well, so you're not teaching anymore?

Don No. I have taught and actually I'll be teaching at a university next year.

Tom Professor?

Don Yeah. I'm working at Prince Rupert next year for the first term and then Simon Fraser for the second term with student teachers in the school and some teaching on campus. That's what I'm working at next year.

Tom I see. I guess this is more personal. I hope you don't mind.

Don No go ahead.

Tom How old are you?

Don People usually ask that. I'm 35.

Tom Really!

Don Yes I'm asked that question quite regularly. I watch people when I talk about where I've been and what I've done. I can see the question coming: "Well how old are you?"

Tom It's just that you look so ambitious and I don't know what to say excited and all that stuff. I don't know I figured you were about 25 (laugh).

Don Thanks! When I'm asking questions, it's to try and get a better understanding. Like you said, the word experience can be interpreted to mean different things to different people. Trying to understand what that means is not always easy.

Tom Did you arrange the Alberta exchange?

Don I've been involved in Native communities a lot of my life. Originally, that was one of the things I was interested in looking at. I tried to see if I could get one going.

Tom I was wondering ever since that happened because I came to a meeting one day, and they said we're going to Quebec. And I couldn't believe it. Like it seemed that Peyak was all set. Do you know what went wrong?

Don I don't to be honest. On the questionnaire basically half of the group wanted to participate. The other half didn't want to go for a variety of reasons. I was wondering what sort of thoughts people had on why they wouldn't want to be involved. One thing that did come out of it was the idea that we were talking about earlier, the whole idea of something being strange. People felt that, or expected, in a Native community they would feel very strange being there and very uncomfortable I guess. The two seemed to go together.

Tom Yeah. Because we look different.

Don I guess that could be part of it.

Tom Because sometimes they call them reservations or something. I don't know why they call them that. They seem separated. And from what I know, I don't really know that much about them, but there are hardly any people. Us, I don't know what we call ourselves anyway. White people? Europeans? Whatever. But there doesn't seem to be too many living there. But if we went there, it would be very--I wouldn't say uncomfortable cause I don't know. It might be more interesting. What was the other word you used, the two together?

Don Strange.

Tom Yeah probably strange. Strange. I can relate to that.

Don Whereas people didn't feel the same sense of strangeness in talking about the French would you say?

Tom I don't think so. For one thing we're learning French. We're a lot alike in a way. We live the same probably. I don't know. Maybe we won't get along as well as with the French than we thought because maybe they're--I don't know--strange? But we might get into stuff like politics and stuff.

Don Yet in terms of that just comparing language most Native people speak English as one of their languages.

Tom Yeah.

Don So language wouldn't have been a problem.

Tom Well I think we won't--myself I was disappointed earlier with the Nova Scotia thing falling through. I wanted to learn French. I wanted it to be different enough but not super different.

Don And people would see the reserve situation as being super different, you think?

Tom Well I don't know that unless I had actually gone on the trip.

Don I see.

Tom But. I don't know it's hard to say. I wanted it to be different cause otherwise what's an exchange? Exchange from Victoria? Victoria has like out here we have a suburban culture. It's such a tourist place. Like it seems different. It's old fashioned because they don't have skyscrapers and stuff like that. But Vancouver to Hope? What kind of an exchange would that be? Like do you know where Hope is?

Don Yes (laugh).

Tom Spuzzum.

Don So you're saying an exchange things should be different or there isn't anything to ex-change then?

Tom Yeah! Yeah! That's right exactly. What an exchange of languages that's one thing.

Don That came out in a lot of people's comments. If somethings the same--I'm trying to think it out here. What I was trying to say, if you're exchanging those things that are different, and that's part of it, what happens to the things that might be the same.

Tom How do you mean like?

Don I guess going back to people's wondering how they would get along and how they would relate. That kind of thing. It comes back to that other idea we were talking about--friends. To me it's all connected together. But if the emphasis was on the things that were different, will people find things which are the same or common? I wonder. Does that make sense? I'm not sure it does (laugh).

Tom I'm not sure.

Don It's like in social studies, the things you talked about. Do the courses seem to emphasize that people are the same or that people are different? Do you get any sense in your social studies?

Tom Probably be more like how people are different. If they're like us, all you have to say is they're really close to us, and we know what us means. So we can relate to that. If they say Japan is very close to us, then you know who cares? Then you know what Japan is like. Since Japan is different, different culture. Very traditional in a way. Very proud of their ancestors. Summari and all that stuff. Then they're different. That's why Japan is interesting to learn about. We aren't learning about people. We're learning about the land and industry and about how they came back after the war and stuff.

Don The emphasis is more on the economy or geography or something?

Tom Yeah. Both of those things. That's pretty good (laugh). First we did geography. Then we did a climate graph. One of the most northern cities. One of the central cities which is Tokyo. And then we did Nagasaki. How the weather was there. And compared them all. The weather's pretty different anyway because there the precipitation wise. The temperature is almost the same. Some are lower and some higher. It's really hot. For all of Japan, it was like a precipitation graph like that. Then you've got another one--Tokyo. Like this is a really northern one. Closer to the equator than Vancouver. It's the opposite. It goes down in the summer instead of going up in the summer.

Don Right.

Tom So it's interesting to learn about that kind of stuff.

Don I lived in Japan for about six months.

Tom Really? I shouldn't--

Don Just in one spot in Kyoto which is near Osaka in the south. I didn't travel that much in the north. I'm more familiar with one area. Some of my Japanese friends came back the summer after I left. They came back and stayed with me for a couple of weeks. Travelled around.

Tom That's a pretty good exchange, eh?

Don Yes!

Tom Did you learn Japanese a lot?

Don Very little. I'm sort of embarrassed. Because I thought I would stay three or four weeks. Then I kept staying longer and longer and most of my friends were at the university. They belonged to an English club. They were learning to speak English. And every time we got together they wanted the opportunity to practice their English. And so it was too easy for me to travel around. I knew a bit of Japanese, enough to get around. But I was always with my Japanese friends so it became too easy for me. I wish I had learned a lot more than I did.

Tom I wonder how much French I'll learn? Well I guess I had better head home. I have another meeting tonight!

VITA

VITA

Name	Don Raymond Northey
Date of Birth	October 18, 1946

Academic Background

1964 - 1968	University of Alberta (Edmonton), B.Ed. (with distinction), Social Studies - Intercultural Education
1975 -1977	University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon), M.Ed., Indian and Northern Education. Thesis: The Effects on Indian Students Who Participated in "Wechitowin" - A Social Simulation Game Based on the Operation of a Federated Co-operative
1979 - 1985	University of Alberta (Edmonton), Doctoral Studies, Education: Curriculum/Social Studies

Awards

Queen Elizabeth Scholarship, 1964
University of Alberta Distinction Award, 1968
University of Saskatchewan Award, 1975
Social Sciences and Humanities Doctoral Completion Fellowship, 1981

Professional Teaching Certificates

Alberta Teaching Certificate
British Columbia Teaching Certificate

School Teaching Experience

1968-1970	Grouard Vocational School: Grouard, Alberta Responsibilities: Teaching Social Studies, Math and Guidance. Students' union advisor and judo instructor
1971	Hong Kong (summer) Responsibilities: Small group instruction in English as a second language
1971-1972	Osaka and Kyoto, Japan Responsibilities: Teaching English on an individual, small group and large group basis
1971-1975	Cold Lake Reserve, Alberta

Responsibilities: Teaching Social Studies, English, Physical Education, Music and Health - grade six to grade ten students. Students' union advisor, volleyball coach, school newspaper advisor, field trip and exchange co-ordinator (Edmonton, 1972; Vancouver, 1974; and Arizona, 1975), co-ordinator for Opportunities for Youth Projects (summers of 1973 and 1974), and Vice-Principal

1977-1979 Sweetgrass Reserve, Saskatchewan
Responsibilities: Principal, Teaching Social Studies, Art, Physical Education and Shop - grades one to eight, students' union advisor, field trip and exchange co-ordinator (Saskatoon and Vancouver, 1978; Edmonton and Halifax, 1979)

University Teaching Experience

1976 University of Saskatchewan

Ed. 102 Introduction to Education (off campus - Onion Lake Reserve)
Ed. Ind. 356 Teaching Culturally Different Children (off campus - Onion Lake Reserve)
Introduction to Teaching Methodology - Indian Teachers' Education Program

1977 University of Saskatchewan

Indian Teacher's Education Program - counsellor, co-ordinator for Outdoor Education Program, instructor for Introduction to Teaching Methodology

1977 Co-ordinator for Sweetgrass Teacher Education Program

1978 University of Saskatchewan Federated Indian College

Ed 100 Introduction to Education

1980 University of Alberta

Ed. C.I. 352 Teaching in the Secondary School
Ed Pra. 353 Student Teaching in the Secondary School

1982 - 1985 Simon Fraser University
Education 401/402 Prince Rupert
Education 401/402 On campus Multicultural Module
Education 405 Practicum
Ed. 474 Designs for Learning Social Sciences Elementary
Education 406 Practicum
Social Studies Workshops

Research Projects

"Evaluation of Ed. C.I. 352 and Ed. Pra. 353 Programs", Graduate Assistanship, University of Alberta, 1979-1980

"Childrens' Concerns and the School Curriculum", Supported-by and in collaboration with the Edmonton Public School Board Research Branch, 1979-1980

"Jigsaw Approach to Multicultural Education", Simon Fraser University, 1985

Conference and Workshop Presentations

"Teaching in Culturally Different Communities", presented at the University of Regina Workshop in Cross-Cultural Communication, 1976

"Roles of Participants in the Formation and Operation of a Teacher Training Program for Indian People", simulation conducted at the National Indian Teachers' Education Conference, 1976

"Issues Approach in the Social Studies", presented at the North-Central Teachers' Convention (Alberta), 1980

"Simulation and Gaming", presented in workships for 401/402 and 405 students, 1983, 1984, and 1985

Publications

Northey, D. (1975). Mercury Poisoning - Why? Northian Newsletter, Society for Indian and Northern Education.

Northey, D. (1976). Classroom Ideas. The Northian. Society for Indian and Northern Education.

Northey, D. (1976). Nochla Co-op. The Northian. Society for Indian and Northern Education.